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The Nesbitt-Thompson Papers—III.



No. 10.

ALIPOOK,

Thursday, 4th August 1785.

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Gladwyn's paper up to day informs us that the *Swallow* is to be dispatched on Saturday next; though I do not believe it, I must in prudence act as if I did, and begin my letters. This I have purposely deferred as long as possible lest in the variable, indecisive and mysterious measures of our present Government I should be obliged to contradict to-day the assertions of yesterday. My two last letters were dated in April and May and were sent by way of Bussora. If you shall have received them they will in some measure have prepared you for the strange events which I am to relate in this.

Sunt lacrymae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.

Stewart, your gentle, mild, professing, zealous friend Stewart, has lent himself soul and body to the purposes of your enemies, and in my mind to the common enemy of mankind. I want words to cover the enormous guilt and folly of his conduct, and will therefore, as Shakespear somewhere advises, let it go naked, that it may be seen the plainer. Your back was scarce turned before he forgot the address of thanks, and gave his mighty mind to the arrangement of new plans for the collection of the revenues, and to the destruction of the system which you had formed for that purpose. In his rage for improvement nothing could oppose him. He was more furious than the Dragon of Wantley, or than the knight who slew him. His wrath was bent against things they never heard of. Dewauns, Committee—men and such things—were e'en to him as geese and ducklings.

At his great bidding they were all to fly before him. They were inadequate he said to the ends of their institution—and either the corrupt source or the helpless subject of endless deception; and to remedy all the evils which ever had existed or ever could exist in the management of the revenues, he proposed that they should be committed to the exclusive care of himself and Mr. Stables, whom, he modestly says, it would be impossible to deceive. These infallible gentlemen were to perform this easy work by way of

relaxation I suppose from their other toils, in monthly rotation, to the great relief of the Governor-General, and to the preclusion of all meaner assistance, except that which they might deign to receive from the disinterested labors of their able and virtuous friends Mr. Graham and Mr. Moor. It is not in words however, or in any words but his own, to do justice to Mr. Stewart's ideas, I refer you therefore to his minute. You will see one or two rays of light glimmering through the whole, but so much refracted by the crooked medium through which they have passed that you will scarce believe them to have originally flowed from the enlightened mind of Mr. Shore.

Stewart indeed though zealous in the opposition to your friends and your measures has borne but a secondary part in it. Its leaders are as you may suppose Mr. Stables, Moor, Graham, McDougal, Nobkissun, Sudder-u-Dein, Ram-Chunder Sein and a few others. You know them all too well to receive much concern from their enmity. Even the ingratitude and apostacy of the grinning Graham will not surprize you when you consider his country, his cunning, and his credulity.

Their most violent attack has been directed against Gunga Govind Sing—and infamous has been its conduct.

You remember that Ghwolaum Ashruff was taken up on suspicion of forgery. He was led to suppose that by representing Gunga Govind Sing and his son as sharers in his guilt, he should be able to obtain his pardon. Mr. Willes to whom the investigation was committed, detected and exposed the falsehood of his accusation. He was committed to the new Fort for further trial, and remained forgotten till about a month before your departure. He then applied for a Habeas Corpus, and to prevent any interference with the Supreme Court you moved that he might be delivered over to the Fouzdar. Your motion was not considered by the other members till after your departure. In the mean time the native enemies of Gunga Govind Sing, who thought this a favourable time to exalt themselves on his disgrace, again prevailed on Ghwolaum Ashruff to accuse him. A committee was appointed for the investigation of the charges against Ghwolaum Ashruff. Its members were Wilkins, Grant the Informer, John ? Duncan, and Grant the Philosopher; the latter declined and White was appointed in his stead. Wilkins thinks himself neglected by you—and was of old offended with Gunga Govind Sing. You were deceived if you thought that generosity or candor could operate on a mind like Grant's. He is as far from admiring as possessing such qualities, and necessarily must dislike you. Duncan is I believe an able honest man. White is weak and was led by Wilkins and Grant. Such were the Commissioners—their business was to enquire into the forgeries committed by Ghwolaum Ashruff. Forgetful however of this,

they seem to have met for the purpose only of establishing if possible the guilt of Gunga Govind Sing. Grant in his first minute indirectly avows the design, and all the others I believe except Duncan steadily pursued it. This perhaps will not be evident from the face of their proceedings, though it was incontestably so in the general sense of the whole settlement. On the 25th they summoned Praun Kisshun to attend. I advised him not to go for the reasons you will find in the letter No. which I wrote in his name to Wilkins. They were afraid of the grand jury which was then sitting and took no measures to enforce obedience to their summons. Fortunate for him it was that he followed my advice. On the very day appointed for his attendance, his enemies had prepared to surprise him with a long connected chain of purjured evidence; which as he could not immediately have disproved, would in all probability have led to his instant commitment. The witnesses however who were engaged for this purpose, collecting possibly from his non-attendance that he was not yet a ruined man, were alarmed, and faltered; at length one of them confessed that he was suborned, and a discovery was forced upon the Commissioners which shocks human nature, and which I leave their own records to reveal to you. They reported the event to the Board, and the Board directed the witnesses to be prosecuted for conspiracy against Gunga Govind Sing. They were four in number two run away—two were tried, and one of them convicted. These however were poor wretches, whose only means of subsistence was that of perjury, who had no particular enmity to Gunga Govind Sing and who were the instrument[s] only of those who had. These we endeavoured to trace, and though to our own conviction we found them beyond all doubt in the persons of Nobkissun, Sudder-u-Dein and others we could obtain legal evidence only against Ram Chunder Sein, and Gopee Nazir. Against these two the grand jury found a bill of indictment and they will take their trial at the next sessions. The committee of inquisition had now sat from the eleventh of April to the for the sole purpose of detecting the supposed criminality of Gunga Govind Sing and his son. During the course of the enquiry they had not procured *sic* slightest evidence against them, and had found that even the witnesses who had appeared against them were suborned. It was reasonable to suppose therefore that the Commission would close, and that the innocence of Gunga Govind Sing and his son would be admitted. Not so—the committee still sits—and Mr. Stewart still declares them guilty,—for Heaven's sake read his last minute. *That* of the 19th July—Though I do not here mean to answer it in all its parts I cannot help taking notice of the gross falsehood with which it concludes—best relying on the confidence with which it is asserted—you should give it a moment's credit.

To prove the superior merit of Rajah Raj Bullub compared with

that of Gunga Govind Sing, he says that when the former was the head native-officer of the Khalsa in 1772-3 the Company's net Collections were ... 2,14,61,019-1-14-2 and that in 1783-4 they were only ... 1,86,43,107-14-7-1

The difference in favor of the former being ... 28,17,911-3-7-1

The first principle of this reasoning is wrong, for Raja Raje Bullab was no more the head officer of the Khalsa in 1772—than in 1783. He was then what he is now and ever must be an empty name. This business at both periods was in truth conducted by Gunga Govind Sing and his agents. But admitting the principle upon which he reasons, his statement in support of it is untrue. He means only to state the landed revenue—Croftes has done the same and the result is greatly in favour of the later period. If I can get a copy of Croftes' statement I will send it to you, lest I should not, I will add a statement which I have received from Gunga Govind Sing—of the gross revenue at the period referred to by Mr. Stewart.

		JUMMA.	WAHIL.	BAUKY.
B. year 1179— X. or year— 1772-3	Khalsa ...	17,12,027-6-18-2	1,56,33,721-5-0-0	14,95,906-1-18-2
	Behar ...	44,86,341-1-3	44,01,083-8-0-0	65,257-9-5-0
	24-Purgs., Burdwan	69,48,562-11-6-2	66,47,617-11-16	2,00,944-8-10-2
	Midnapore, &c.			
	TOTAL ...	2,85,64,530-12-10	2,67,82,422-8-16	17,82,180-3-14-0
B. year 1189 or X. or year 1773-4 (See)	Total of the above ...	3,40,07,217-9-2-2	2,83,01,244-9-3-3	31,05,972-15-16-3
	The actual collections of 1783-4 exceed those of 1772-3 by 15,12,822-9-3			

Some time after this minute of Mr. Stewart was delivered, Mr. Macpherson desired I would prepare an answer to it, comprehending a general view of all the proceedings relative to Gunga Govind Sing—but to be as mild and moderate as possible, that is, to talk about it and about it, but to leave the subject just where I found it. Nothing could be further from my own wishes. I saw that till the Chitpoor Commission was closed any opinion relative to the merits or demerits of Gunga Govind Sing must have been premature and subject to much future discussion. To make it final therefore, to annihilate the committee and to decide at once on the fate of Gunga Govind Sing I advised Mr. Macpherson as a previous and necessary step to the attainment of all these objects to deliver the accompanying minute No. 3. I sent

it to him on the 25th July but whether he has yet delivered it, or what has been its fate, I know not.

The second charge against Gunga Govind Sing and his son is *that* brought by Ramjee Mull. Though the proceedings of the 6th May will convince you of the malice and falsehood of the accusation, they will give you no idea of the gross absurdity which marked its investigation; for Duncan the sub-secretary, concerned no doubt for the honor of the department in which he served, has omitted to record the extravagancies of Stables and Stewart, and has contrived to give the appearance of method to their madness. Cowper told me what passed. Ramjee Mull, an obscure farmer, who had defaulted for almost one-third of his revenue, and who was on that account under charge of the committee's peons, was brought forward as the accuser of the Dewan and his naib, and as if ennobled by the character was suffered to keep his seat in the council room, till at the representation of Cowper he was desired to stand. So avowed indeed was the encouragement which he received from Mr. Stewart, and so great was that gentleman's anxiety for the establishment of the charge, that when his discernment enabled him to see the contradiction in the fellow's evidence, he frequently interfered to set him right, and in several instances prevented the secretary, from recording the proofs which he afforded of his own falsehood. Neither the zeal or discernment however of Mr. Stewart has been able to make his friend consistent, or to make the worse appear the better cause. The charge contains such irresistible evidence of its own untruth, that it scarce requires for its refutation the able answer which Praun Kisshun has given to it.

The third and last charge is very curiously and liberally grounded on an act which you yourself had expressly recommended to the approval and confirmation of the Board, as one means of rewarding his past services. I mean his purchase of lands in Dinagepoor. This indeed is the charge which Mr. Stables pretends to think unanswerable and on which, as if in disdain of every other, he confidently rests for the overthrow of the Dewan. I obtained a sight of Mr. Stables' minute of the 15th May, and hearing that Mr. Macpherson had put in a very milk and water kind of answer to it, I thought it proper that Gunga Govinda Sing should speak for himself and therefore wrote for him a letter to the Board of which I send you a copy (No. 2). Though I intended it to meet the assertions, for they are neither facts nor arguments, of Mr. Stables's minute, I was obliged to write in pretended ignorance of it, since Gunga Govind Sing could with no propriety avow a knowledge of what had never been officially communicated to him. The arguments therefore are general, and consequently much weaker than they might have been, could I have directly opposed them to propositions which they were meant to refute. I have no copy of Mr.

Stables's minute, but I recollect that he compares the jumma mentioned in the purchase deed as the price of the lands, with their *actual* jumma, and states the difference between them as the yearly and perpetual profit of the purchaser fraudulently acquired at the expense not only of the zemindar but the Company. In this reasoning he is closely followed by his co-adjutor Mr. Stewart. They are both as wrong as ignorance and prejudice can make them.

In every purchase deed the price is settled according to the toomaur jumma; it is so in this: But though the toomaur jumma determines the price to be paid to the vendor, it by no means determines the rents which shall be paid to Government: These will commonly be as much as the lands are capable of producing, and certainly as much whilst they are in the hands of Gunga Govind Sing as whilst in the possession of the zameendar.

Both Mr. Stables and Mr. Stewart remark too with great indignation that the purchase deed asserts a falsehood, for that it recites that the lands are impoverished and that the zameendar is unable to "improve them." Mr. Stewart after twenty years' service should have known that these are now words of course in every conveyance, and that they are such, because they express the only cause which in former times could authorize the sale of lands. Nay, such fictions are to be found in the conveyances used in our own country.

They both likewise concurred in protesting that the native officers of the revenue are by express orders prohibited from purchasing lands. The committee was referred to. Their answer was that the native officers were expressly permitted to purchase lands—under certain restrictions, none of which Gunga Govind Sing has attempted to evade. The committee's letter is dated 9th June 1785. The order to which it alludes is recorded in their own proceedings of the 13th August 1781.

These circumstances I here mention because you will find no traces of them in my enclosures, no faithful traces of them possibly in the records.

From the perusal of these proceedings you will observe that though Stables and Stewart possessed a decided majority, though they were anxiously bent on the same object, and though neither they or their agents had been restrained by decency, moderation, or justice in the pursuit of it, they are so totally destitute of plan, co-operation or ability that they have not yet been able to effect their common purpose. They have both long since separately moved for the dismissal of the Dewan and all his dependants; but the proposition of each containing the confused unconquerable principles of the chaos from which it sprung, they continue dark and void, and defy the utmost powers of their authors to give them light or harmony.

Opposed to such men it might be supposed that Mr. Macpherson's only

difficulty would be to determine the destruction. But alas! his selfish fears, his indecision, and his excessive refinement give strength and consequence even to such enemies, whilst they totally destroy the confidence of all his friends. My opinion of him is unaltered, and perhaps unalterable, for I confess that it at this moment stands opposed to the apparent tendency of some of his actions. I give him full credit for effecting the nomination of Harpur, for his defence, equivocal as it is, of Gunga Govind Sing, and for his general *civility* towards all your friends. I do not mean to develop his actions. You are now on the spot to see them in their true light, and I am far from wishing that *that* may be an unfavourable one.

Had he possessed but common firmness he might have attached to his service the best abilities in the settlement. His personal interest, his public credit, and the headlong indiscriminating opposition of the other members to your measures necessarily engaged him in the partial support of them. Friendship therefore towards you, as well as an universal detestation of Stewart's ingratitude and Stables's brutality concurred with the natural influence of his office, his great good nature and the superiority of his talents compared with those of his colleagues to set all men on his side. I really don't believe that Stables and Stewart had an advocate in the settlement except Graham, Moor, McDougal, and their black associates. His pusillanimity if not his duplicity has however robbed him of all confidence and men in general are no longer anxious to render him that assistance of which he has not even spirit to avail himself.

McDougal, Moor and others, with a view no doubt to their own emolument, had encouraged the Rajah of Nuddea to demand the management of his Zameendarry. Stables and Stewart supported him; the former in the earnest hope, if not upon the express condition that he should produce buraumuds against Gunga Govind Sing. Macpherson opposed the Rajah's demand, and the committee furnished him with unanswerable arguments against the Rajah's *present* reinstatement, drawn from his incapacity—the faith of Government pledged to the renters—and the certain loss of the Company. Thus strengthened the Governor went to Council, fully determined as he told Cowper upon setting out to confirm the existing engagement. Cowper always distrusting his firmness contrived to follow him. They were met only by Stables, for Stewart was ill, and to the silent insolent obstinacy of Stables alone unsupported by the bare mention of an argument did Mr. Macpherson yield his fixed opinion, meanly abandoning his own unaltered sense of justice, truth and policy even in the presence of the man to whom he had not ten minutes before engaged himself for its firm support. Cowper, as well he might, gave him up in despair. The same day the settlement was read. I do not exaggerate. Stables slept through the whole of it—and when

he was awakened at its conclusion—declared “I object to every part of it”—even Macpherson felt, and issued instant orders for its confirmation.

Davies the lawyer—who though a lawyer, is the most *loyal* of all your friends. Cowper, Evelyn and myself were of opinion that Stewart had no right to his seat. He and Stables were then in the height of their madness. The idea was communicated to Macpherson. I saw however that in the prospect of Sloper's arrival, and with a view to keeping the Council full he might not heartily approve of the removal of Stewart. The question was therefore fairly put to him. He encouraged us to proceed. Davies prepared the arguments which I enclose No. 4 and which are unanswerable. It was agreed that Gunga Govind Sing, in case of extremities, should deliver them to the Board, with a protest against Mr. Stewart's possession of a seat. Mr. Macpherson begged a sight of the arguments; I distrusted him, and left them with him only three hours. He in that time got a copy of them—shewed them to the judges—and pretended that they had verbally expressed a contrary opinion. To us he lamented his embarrassment. To Mr. Stewart he has no doubt much extolled his own moderation, and in the universal exercise of that mild and amiable virtue has perhaps very kindly endeavoured to palliate the intemperance of his young and hasty friends. If he wished not to attempt the removal of Stewart why did he not tell us so when the question was fairly put to him? He must surely have encouraged us in the attempt, for the sake only of making a merit with Stewart in defeating it.

Lord Macartney arrived here on the _____ of June and took up his abode with Mr. Duncan, the gentleman, who in the spirit of Peter, but not with his contrition, thrice denied his master. I have never been able to account for your belief of Duncan when he declared that he was not the agent of Lord Macartney, for, as I recollect, he acted in the character at the very time he disavowed it. Dick Johnson came round with His Lordship and has hardly left him a moment since. He may possibly tell you the real motives of his journey hither, his employment whilst here, and the sentiments with which he leaves us. Larkins too may be able to tell you his probable views, for in the examination of Larkins's records he has spent much time. I have myself seen him only once. He is I *know* most exceedingly exasperated against you for recording a letter from the Nabob of which I send you a copy (No. 5). He saw, I am told, in an English newspaper that such a letter was recorded, and made a formal application to the Board for a copy of it. If His Lordship's candor, human kindness, and moral justice were but equal to his great resolution, or even to his abilities, I should regret that he is not your friend—in such case indeed he could not have been your enemy. I have lately seen such imbecility of purpose in one party, and such gross stupidity in another, that I am led perhaps to give too much credit to

the opposite qualities. It cannot however be denied that Lord Macartney's resignation of an office which others have so ardently sought, and which would have furnished such ample means of gratification to his pride, his ambition, his revenge, and his avarice if he really possesses any, marks a dignity of character, a regulation of his desires that do him infinite honor. I own I admire the act; and I perhaps admire it the more because it so exactly meets my wishes. A log of a Governor may indeed be contemptible, but where the governed are but frogs even a log is better than a crane.

General Sloper arrived on the 21st. Though Willes, who is his nephew, thinks that you unnecessarily sacrificed his interest and credit at Furuckabad, to the views of Palmer and Grant at Lucknow, and feels therefore full as much resentment as gratitude towards you, he is still far from joining with your enemies merely because they are such. He despises Stables and Stewart, and partly at my request wrote to the General at Madras apprizing him of their disgraceful conduct. The General therefore from this and other information arrives with due impressions of them, and with a disposition to join Macpherson. It would indeed have been madness in him to have possessed any other. Macpherson has carefully improved it by those arts in which he so much excels. They do very well to sweeten the intercourse of common life. I am fearful only that he will as usual carry them into the conduct of real business, and endeavour to make them the substitute for truth, good faith, confidence, decided support, and all that is truly valuable and binding in the engagements between man and man. I own I fear it. For Macpherson cannot move straight forward. If he moves at all, it must be in the direction of the serpent, and with his belly to the earth.

The General wished to remove Stewart. Macpherson affected to do the same—but clandestinely got the judges to deliver an opinion "that Mr. Stewart having been admitted to a seat, nothing had happened to deprive him of it." In this opinion the judges carefully avoided any decision upon his first right to take his seat. They well knew that he had no such right; and all the rest of the world will know that if he had no right to get the seat, he can have none to keep it.

The last person I saw on Saturday night was poor Croftes. He was then in health. Before morning a paralytic stroke had robbed him of the use of half his limbs, and all his understanding. How terrible a wreck! Dick Johnson and Kydd have attended him constantly, and knowing your regard for him, will no doubt give you a full account of this melancholy event.

Palmer in the letter which I enclose has spoken fully for himself. I congratulate both him and you, on the successful issue of your arrangements. By this ship I send you another packet containing letters only from your

native correspondents. The cover bearing the mark * was delivered to me by Rajah Govind Ram who says that it contains a faithful transcript of all his correspondence with Lucknow since your departure. He was anxious, I know not why, that it should carry no evidence on its face of coming from him.

The Prince's letters and a full account of him you will receive from Frith—who is now in Calcutta.

Poor Pot has been in hot water ever since you left us. The villanous intrigues of his own Dewan Soonder Sing and of the Beegum's Dewan Roy Maunick Churn have kept up the fire. I have in vain endeavoured to extinguish it—for, to go on with the metaphor—pott boiled over, and I was in danger of being scalded.

Turner has written to you, and as he informs me has told you of our purchase, and of our intended improvements. You will no doubt have been much vexed and surprized to hear of the very small sum which your estate at Alipoor produced. The old house with all the garden was the first lot, and was bought by Mr. Jackson for 27,500 Rs.—Our's was the second—and went at 27,000 Rs., the *Paddock* was the third and brought only 7,000 Rs. Our's you may at all times command at the sum for which we bought it. Landed property has greatly sunk in its value. Mr. Short died about a month ago. An estate for which he paid 40,000 Rs. and in the improvement of which he had spent very near as much, produced at publick sale only 19,000.

The cinnamon tree has produced a great deal of seed, which is now drying, and shall be sent by the *Francis*.

The packet will close at noon and I am therefore compelled to close my letter. I beg you will accept my sincere acknowledgment for all your kindness to me—and that you will believe me as in truth,

I am,

Your grateful and faithful Servant.

GEORGE NESBITT THOMPSON.

Halhed desired I would write to him fully. Since I have known him I have always spoken to him on such subjects as if I were speaking to you. I hope therefore that you will have no objection to shewing him this letter for if there were now time, I could hardly find in my heart to enter again on such a Detail.

I have sent you part of Gladwyn's last paper—in which you will see a full account of the measures which the settlement is adopting for a redress of grievances. I have had no participation in them; for I know whilst they are legal and moderate they will be ineffectual.

I wrote last night to Mr. White to know what was become of the address of thanks to you. "He told me that it had laid some time at the Harmonic House, and that he believed Mr. Stewart finding no other names were added to it had taken it away." I immediately went to town and calling on Larkins got him to concur with me in requesting that Mr. Stewart would send the address to us. This was late last night. I have yet received no answer. I shall first procure the minute which you wrote on your departure to be published and shall then think of the address. It has not had fair play.

Larkins applied for leave to publish the minute in which you testify the sentiments of the Company's Servants in general. Macpherson consented—but Stables opposed. I am not sorry for it. Anthony could not have wished for a more favorable circumstance when he read the will of Cæsar.

G. N. T.

No. 11.

CALCUTTA.

September 8th 1785.

DEAR SIR,

Upon coming to town this morning to sign the three petitions to the different branches of the legislature Mr. Dacres informed me that Mr. Ferguson intends to dispatch by dawke of this evening a packet over land to Bombay in order that it may be forwarded from thence by way of Bussora to England. Though I have myself no confidence in the speed or certainty of this mode of conveyance, I cannot help availing my [self] of it, not only as it indulges the pleasure which I always receive in writing to you but as it enables me in some measure to assist in promoting the views of one of the most able zealous and respectable friends whom you have left in this country. You are not, I am certain, unacquainted with the character and abilities of Mr. Davies; he does infinite credit to both by the increased veneration which he has displayed for your's since your departure. I do not say too much when I assure you that 'tis to the credit of his avowed support in the Supreme Court that Gunga Govind Sing is in great measure indebted for the victory which he has now almost completely obtained over his enemies, but he is I assure you in all things sincerely attached to your interests.

He has shewed me a letter which he has written to you upon the subject of his succession to the appointment of Advocate General held by Sir John Day. He doubts not from the assurances with which you honored him before his departure, that you will favour him with your support in the pursuit of this object. He is apprehensive only from the very unfair means

which have been practised here to deprive him of it and from those which are likely to be pursued by Lord Macartney in England in favor of Mr. Dunkin, that his friends may not be sufficiently vigilant or on their guard to prevent his being disappointed. The late act of Parliament in providing for a regular succession to appointments has been construed in England as extending to that of the Advocate General, and as giving Mr. Davies a clear right to it. In pleading his cause indeed I plead my own. For you must recollect that Sir John Day is Advocate General—Davies is senior council, and I am Junior Council—it is as much therefore my interest as it is his to guard against supercession, and as you are my tutelar God I trust that having treated you will preserve me. Dunkin, though a cursed Jesuit, has still the happiness of Mr. Sullivan for his friend. It will require therefore some explanation on your part to shew the superior claims of Mr. Davies to your favor, and his absolute right indeed to his office. Remember you have given to Dunkin the appointment of Registrar to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlat, an office of much greater influence and emolument than either Davies' or mine. Remember too that if Dunkin gets the Advocate Generalship he will hold both appointments, whilst Davies in succeeding to it, would relinquish his present employment and consequently not exhibit so striking an instance of the undue operation of favor, and of the blindness of fortune. I have said nothing of their comparative fitness for the office, for this admits of no comparison. It would not be to compare great things with small, but that which does exist with that which does not.

Davies has explained to you the wild and unjust intentions of Sir John Day. After trying several other means of defeating Davies' succession, he is now labouring to obtain permission to go to England for two years—without relinquishing his office.—If therefore you should be so kind as to interest yourself in Davies' behalf and so fortunate as to succeed, be careful how the order for his succession is worded—possibly this may do, "that T. H. Davies, Esqr., having long and ably served the Hon'ble Company as their Senior Council in the Supreme Court at Fort William is by the late act of Parliament entitled to succeed to the office of Advocate General whenever Sir John Day shall cease to perform the duties at present annexed to it, and that the said T. H. Davies is therefore appointed to succeed to the said office whenever the said Sir John Day shall vacate it or leave Bengal."—This is not, I know, correct, nor have I time to make it so—for the post is going.

As it is possible that this letter may arrive before the *Swallow* I should tell you that she left this port about the 12th ultimo, that I wrote by her very fully to you—and that Lord Macartney was a passenger on board her. He came here about the month of June. He made early declarations that he would

not take the Government if it should be offered to him. His appointment was announced here on the 31st June—and he absolutely had virtue enough to decline it. Whilst here he had unlimited recourse to all the records not only of Larkins' but of every other office. His labours certainly had not your honor for their object. I have the happiness however of knowing that they will contribute to it. Nay all things, says Holy Writ, work together for the benefit of the good—and even your enemies are useful to you—Larkins admires him—and he admires M—n too. He says they are both honest men. Lord M. is highly offended with you for recording a letter in which he is much abused by the Nabob of Arcot. It was recorded as I recollect in November 1783. He applied to the Board for a copy of it. Croftes received a paralytic stroke on the 6th August. It for a time deprived him of the use of his side, and nearly I believe of his understanding. He is now much recovered, though still a pitiable object. Palmer is on his way to the Presidency—Harpur has succeeded him—Macpherson has hitherto been joined by Sloper. They are both favourable to Ganga Govind Sing. The committee have closed their proceedings with a report which does them credit, and amply atones for the prejudice with which they set out. All the papers are now before me and I am preparing Mr. Macpherson's final minute of decision on them.—The three petitions against the bill were signed to-day. Old Price has been violent in support of the bill and in opposition to the petition. Make my most respectful compliments and grateful acknowledgments to Mrs. Hastings, and believe me, dear Sir, as in truth I am—

Your most obedient and faithful Servant,

G. N. THOMPSON.

No. 12.

ALIPOOR,

1st November, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,

By the *Intelligente* packet which will close this evening I have the honor to send you the duplicate of my last letter, and the copy of a minute which I have since prepared for Mr. Macpherson. In the perusal of it I request you will remember that I wrote it neither for you nor myself, but for a gentleman who startles at the perspicuity of truth wherever he meets it, and never so carefully avoids it as in his own reasonings and conduct. This observation must partly account to you for the want of that direct and pointed argument of which the subject was capable—as even

the small degree of direct and pointed argument which the minute *does* possess will no doubt well account for Mr. Macpherson's not having yet delivered it. In fact he is afraid to say a word upon the subject and is like many other very cautious men betrayed into greater danger by his fears than he could have been led by any degree of temerity. He is now guilty of suspending a question which in every view of it called for prompt decision, and of supporting in opposition to two votes which constituted when given the legal Government, a man who has been accused of the most atrocious crimes and in whose behalf, for aught that appears on the records, he has not been able to urge a single plea either in point of fact or argument. Instead of furnishing the explanation of his own conduct, he leaves all who are disposed to consider it, to draw their lights from those pure and abundant sources the minutes of Messrs. Stables and Stewart. Nor would these have ever yet received a single contradiction if I had not, contrary I believe to the wishes of Mr. Macpherson, prevailed on Gunga Govind Sing to deliver his letter recorded the 7th July.

When Mr. Macpherson complained that Mr. Stewart opposed him Mr. Stewart declared in his own justification that he should never have accused Ganga Govind Sing if he had not been prompted and led on to do so by Mr. Macpherson. Mr. M—, you may be sure, denies this, and it is possible he might be believed, if the whole of his conduct, every minute he has recorded, did not confirm the declaration of Mr. S.—It should be observed however that, though the excuse of Mr. Stewart fully justifies him to Mr. Macpherson, it damns him with respect to truth and you—

Mr. Mackenzie yesterday took his seat as a *deliberative* Member of the Committee of Revenue, preparatory to his becoming an efficient one upon the expected resignation of Mr. Charters. To trace Mr. Macpherson through all the indirect and dirty ways by which he led Mr. Mackenzie to this office, would be an irksome task. It is sufficient to say that Johnson was a candidate for the office—that Cowper and Evelyn supported Johnson as the properest man in Calcutta for the execution of it, and opposed Mackenzie as on all accounts the most unfit. Mr. Macpherson agreed with them entirely on both points, but particularly on the incapacity of Mackenzie. He could not hear to hear of the fellow. Yet it was Mr. Macpherson who placed him in the appointment and who now expects that all the rest of the world, except Mr. Mackenzie and his friends, will believe it to be the work of the other members. He is really one of those who shut their own eyes, and then think themselves concealed. I do not object to the appointment of Mackenzie. He had pretensions to it as having presided over the Customs which are now put under the Committee. I object only to the mode of the appointment.

We have reports here apparently very vague that Pitt was left in a minority in the Irish business, and that Fox and his party form the present administration. I sincerely hope this is not true; for though Pitt certainly is not spotless, Fox seems black all over.

I blush for my countrymen in Bengal when I tell you that few of them have signed the petitions to the three branches of the legislature. I admit with the advocates of the Bill that it has its merits, but these were necessary, and were perhaps intended to veil its blemishes. I do not myself dread the operation even of its worst clauses. I fear not a disclosure of my property, and would perhaps rather be tried by the new judicature than by a common jury. But who can tell us that the new judicature will always retain its present form? A new minister may probably prefer a single judge to twelve. We shall then in vain have recourse to the bulwark which we now basely desert. We shall be told that the trial of jury has been long since abolished, and that the intended alterations are not the creation of a new court but the modification of an old one.

To defeat the arguments of Mr. Macpherson and Price, which all went to convince men that the good parts of the Bill should reconcile them to the bad, and that they should swallow the Pill because it was gilded, I advised one of the members of the committee to propose a public acknowledgment of the good clauses, as well as a petition against the bad. He did propose it but the other members of the committee overruled it on the plea of its being unprecedented. In justice to my own feelings I signed the petition, though I kept out of the way of being in the committee not knowing how you might approve it.

I shall not pretend to develop the schemes of our present rulers, for no man is more totally unacquainted with them. The General, I am told, is desirous of visiting Lucknow and by several subordinate arrangements I think it probable not only that he has such an intention but that he will be permitted to execute it. The enclosed letter from Palmer I received before his arrival from Lucknow. He is now at Cossipoor and will no doubt write fully to you. He has taken his passage for England and expects to sail in January. Many are going home this year, those whose names I can recollect I will add—Rooke, Purling, Irwin, Charters, Dynely, Wilkins, Petrie, Cator, Alexander, Beeby, David Cumming, General Stibbert, Colonels Ironside and Morgan, Majors Browne, Maclean and Palmer. I have omitted Colonel Watson, who in his departure furnishes a striking proof of that selfishness which has marked his character during the whole of his residence here. You may remember how indecently, how madly violent he was against Pitt's Bill when we received the first and imperfect abstract of it. He said it was your duty as the first member of this society to oppose it—and all this to

prevent the disclosure of his property. He soon finds that he can get home early enough to evade that clause; and the Bill is in his mind a very good one. He will neither petition against it, nor subscribe a rupee for forwarding the petition. He is a very likely man to go home and inveigh against the rapacity and extravagance of Indians. You knew something of Davies the lawyer, I can assure you from my perfect knowledge of him that [he] is an able upright man—few people whom you have left here have manifested so high a veneration for your character, or so sincere an attachment to the cause of yourself and your friends. I own I tell you this to engage your attention to what I am going to say respecting him. He is next in succession to the office of Advocate General held by Sir John Day. Upon an application by Governor Johnson to the Court of Directors requesting that Maxwell should be appointed to the first vacant office of Council to the Company, it was opposed as it might eventually be a supercession; indeed it must be so if the vacancy should first happen in any but the lowest office. Sir John Day partly no doubt with a view to his own interest, and partly it is said to injure Davies, wanted to go home upon leave of absence for 2 years, and retaining the salary of his office to invest Gordon with the duties of it. Davies opposed this as injurious to him. The Board at length consented that Sir John Day should go home for 2 years for the recovery of his health, and that his office and its salary should devolve upon Davies. Davies hopes therefore you will, if possible, effect his confirmation in it, and guard him against supercession. I shall advance to the office vacated by Davies, and Gordon to mine.

By a Mr. Wagstaff, Mrs. Hay's brother, I send you about fifty seeds of the cinnamon tree. I have directed him to suspend them in a dry and airy part of the ship which as I recollect is the mode prescribed by yourself. A few of them have come up in our garden.

Soleyman Beauty and the buggy horse are all well—so are the Canary birds—Mrs. Hastings I am sure will be glad to hear this—pray present my respectful compliments to her and tell her that I shall send her muslin and pearls by the *Rodney* which will sail in November or the beginning of December and is a safer ship and a better sailer than the *Intelligence*, and will probably be at home almost as soon.

You will hear from Croftes, and will, I am sure, rejoice to find how little his mind is affected by his late misfortune. He has however no use of one side of his body, and is upon the whole a very miserable man. He thinks himself hardly treated by the present Government, and says he goes to Chittagong as if he were going to perpetual banishment.

Though November is now commenced this evening is as hot as ever

I remember one in Bengal—and increases if possible that desire which I always feel of being near you.

I have some abstracts of proceedings for you but for the reasons which I have mentioned above I shall send them by the *Rodney*.

I have the Honor to be,

Dear Sir,

Your obliged and grateful Servant,

G. N. THOMPSON.

Poor Elwarry has been within these 3 or 4 days turned out of his office of Naib of the Khalsa. I can believe he has been guilty of some offence, though perhaps not meriting dismissal. I need not tell you that none of the Taalooks have been yet granted to your dependants; by Macpherson they never will be granted.

The Khurreeta I received from Bissumber Pundit, it contains letters from himself; his brother and Moodajee Boorlu.

The packet marked thus * is from Raja Govind Ram.

No. 11.

Thursday, 15th December 1785.

DEAR SIR,

The *Surprise's* packet was opened on Monday last, and infinite was the pleasure which it produced to all your friends—Major Scott's letter to me informed me of your safe arrival, your health, your distinguished reception and the honors which probably yet awaited you. Your good is in all its modifications the good of the public; and the bare report of the weight which you possess in England will I am convinced have a favourable effect on the councils of this government. It will impart to them a portion of that spirit which informed them whilst under your direction—and banish from them, if any thing can, the meanness, imbecility and selfishness which have lately so notoriously disgraced them. Kydd is going home. I will not compare his departure in consequence of yours to the Flight of Astrea because the allusion is trite and because I see no great similitude between England and heaven. But I believe he would not have gone if you had staid, or if, in your absence, he could have done anything for the public good. He has not only cried upon the house tops, but has invaded the secret chambers of the great, and something after the manner of Albion in Cecilia has told them truths which they would otherwise not have heard, and which if one risen from the dead had uttered to them they would not

have had grace to believe. To Kydd I refer you—he knows a little of what has lately passed, but I know absolutely nothing—nor do I regret it—I shall not burst in ignorance, and knowledge I am convinced would be pain. My office as Junior Council has lately found me full employment. Full ten days were we endeavouring to justify the conduct of Motte and Maxwell as joint Superintendants of the Police. We failed at last, and I hope you will attribute our ill-success to the qualities of those gentlemen rather than to those of Davies and myself. We have since been employed in convicting several men who for many years past have carried on the practice of opening the mails whilst on their way to the ship and stealing part of their contents. To-day is the first which I have not past in court for almost this month. On Monday next the trial of Ramchunder Sein, Gopee Nazir and others for a conspiracy against Praun Kishun Sing will commence, and as all the preparatory steps for the prosecution have principally rested with me, the business has already occupied most of my time and attention, and must from henceforth till its conclusion engross them wholly. Davies is Senior Council, nor can I in justice to my own feelings lose any occasion of bearing testimony to the zeal which he displays in the support of Ganga Govind Sing and his son, and to the attachment which he has invariably manifested to you. By the *Intelligence* packet I sent you the copy of a minute which I had prepared for Mr. Macpherson, containing a brief consideration of all the questions before the Board relative to the Dewan and his son together with his decision on them. He affected to admire it exceedingly, but has yet made no use of it.—Now that he sees the reception you have met with, he will perhaps venture to *commit* himself in favor of the Dewan so far as to declare what he has long professed to believe his innocence.

This will probably be delivered to you by Comyns—to whose care I have committed a trunk containing the saddle given to you by Almass Ally Khan.—It accompanied one of the mares, and though its intrinsic value is I fear inconsiderable, it is apparently a laborious and costly work, and may possibly be acceptable to you or some of your friends as a curiosity. In the same trunk I send a shield which some of the natives have told me is a very fine one and musquet proof. This property it owes I suppose rather to its shape than its substance. These and a few more such articles I brought back from the auction room whither they had been sent by Larkins. The sale of them would have produced but a trifle and was not I am convinced at all consonant to your feelings. The best of them shall by different conveyance be sent to you. To Comyns I have in full confidence of your approbation given a matchlock, two spears, and a very old sword. To Mr. Stables I have most unwillingly parted with a few articles. He would not take a refusal. Though I have never been within his doors but once since your departure

he came frequently to Alipoor: and, were not gross hypocrisy one of the most striking features of his character, one would have thought that he came for the melancholy pleasure of deploring your absence on the spot which had been most blessed with your presence. Every shrub reminded him of you—the very stocks and stones were eloquent, and prompted him to repeat as if only from their suggestions—"Alas! poor Hastings"—these were his very words—and it is from his lips alone perhaps that they could have given me pain. I made a virtue at length of necessity, and told him that I was certain I acted as you would do in letting him have any of the articles he wanted. He took two matchlocks (not the best)—an old saddle—3 spears, and a shield.

By Comyns I send you in another box 3 matchlocks—one of them beyond all comparison the handsomest of any you left behind you.

Kydd is gone and Comyns is going. I am afraid of being too late—and must therefore conclude.

I have the Honor to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged and faithful Servant,

GEORGE NESBITT THOMPSON.

By Colonel Kydd I send you some seeds of your own Cinnamon tree. I send likewise some seeds which Captain Forrest brought from one of the Malacca Islands and has distributed through the settlement as the seeds of the cabbage tree—none have yet come up in the neighbourhood of Calcutta.

[*To be continued.*]

Reviews.

WARREN HASTINGS IN BENGAL 1772-1774. BY E.
MONCKTON JONES, OXFORD, 1918.

THE author in his preface modestly refers to certain disabilities to which a writer on the subject of his choice is exposed if he be "neither an Indian official nor in any way in direct contact with the life of India, but drawn to the subject merely by its inherent interest." The writer of a work such as the present one must be continually brought into contact with matters of a very technical nature, a knowledge of many necessary details of which is more easily and more thoroughly acquired in the practical work of a Civil Servant rather than in the study. While this is true, it is, on the other hand, a manifest advantage to have a book written in a style which is readily intelligible to those who have never been in India, and from which the technicalities and even the "*Hobson-Jobson*" into which an Anglo-Indian writer so readily drops are absent. In India a work of the present kind has been long needed, for many wildly false statements as to the history of the country are still current, and, apart from the dramatic scenes in Hastings' career, his great work as a patient and farseeing administrator has been studied by but a very small number. Mr. Monckton Jones' method of following up his chapters by select documents is just what was required. We would venture to ask the writer when he is preparing a second edition to weigh once again his statement as to "the effect of Plassey." We venture to think that the fact that the glorious careers of such men as Thomas Adams, Randfurlie Knox and others have almost passed out of memory is to be explained by the exaggerated estimate of the event of Plassey. On p. 65 Mr. Monckton Jones says of the Supervisors "none of them could have had more than three or four years' administrative experience." Surely this is rather too strong. As Verelst has been so severely contrasted with Richard Becher by Sir William Hunter, we think it ought to be said that the impression left on mind by a study of the Murshidabad records is that Becher was an amiable but not very strong administrator. He seems to have been yet another instance of the type of man who gains great credit by candour in exposing evils, but his method in so doing is a violent flagellation of the wrong horse. The correspondence of the Supervisors, when it is published will, without doubt, tend to show that Becher himself is to be blamed for the alleged failure of the experiment. The list of Supervisors given on p. 89, is incomplete

and inaccurate. "Chartres" on p. 292 is an error—a common one—for "Charters." We notice too that for the name of William Lushington in the index is given Henry Lushington—the latter being the youth who survived the Black-hole to perish in the massacre at Patna and whose memory is unpleasantly connected with the tricking of Amirchand. The Index which is remarkably good, refers to p. 27 for "Bycunpore, Baikanthpur," which is explained to be "a town in the Patna district." The reference is to No. 27 on p. 216, and refers to "Darrup Deo, the zamindar of Bycuntpore." The district is in reality Baikuntpur—old fashioned Bykuntpore—which once belonged to Rangpur but now to Jalpaiguri. There are some evidences of Hastings' activities which Mr. Monckton Jones might mention in another edition. In 1778, illustrating the saying that every great statesman is something of a geographer, Hastings sent Charles Chapman to explore the coast of Cochin China and penetrate as far inland as he could. This, of course, was at a date subsequent to that with which the present volume ends, and to a later period also belongs the journey of Samuel Turner in 1783 to Thibet, but Bogle's embassy to the Tesku Lama (1774-75) might have been mentioned. We venture to express the hope that Mr. Monckton Jones will be encouraged to undertake a similar volume on the period in which Hastings so splendidly proved to be the *mens æqua in arduis*, but should be elect to transfer his efforts to another field or remark, we shall remain grateful to him for a work which must convince every unprejudiced mind that, judged by the history of the years 1772-74 alone, Hastings not only has won a place in the very first rank of British statesmen, but deserves the love of the people of Bengal. The book is to be further commended on the score of two fine portraits. The first of these is the portrait presumably by Tilly Kettle, and presents us, as Mr. Monckton Jones thinks, with Hastings "about the age of 40," which would be about the date of his arrival in Bengal as Governor in 1772. As Kettle was in India from 1770 to 1774 the portrait may well be his work. Mr. Monckton Jones states that this painting was "inherited by Cortland MacGregor, Esq., from his ancestor John Stewart, Judge Advocate-General in Bengal in 1773." The other portrait gives us Hastings "about the age of 65," and is from the painting by Abbot. Our author states that it shows us Hastings "at approximately the date of his final return to England." Hastings was born on the 6th December 1732: he left Calcutta finally on February 1, 1785: so he cannot have been fifty-three years on the date of his arrival in England (13 June 1785). The Great Proconsul might almost be described as the best painted man in history for we have portraits of him by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Romney, Abbot, Devis, Kettle, Zoffany, Stubbs, Seton and Masquerier.

W. K. F.

A GUIDE TO TAXILA, BY SIR JOHN MARSHALL, K.T., C.I.E.,
MA., LIT., DOC., CALCUTTA, 1918.

We have received with the greatest pleasure a copy of Sir John Marshall's *Guide to Taxila*. Even to those of us who can never hope to enjoy the good fortune of visiting the remains of that once great city, the present guide is most interesting. It was not until 1863 that General Cunningham established the identity of the site some twenty miles to the north-west of Rawal Pindl with that of Taxila, and, until Sir John Marshall nearly five years ago was enabled to get to work at his remarkable series of excavations, the old city remained a prey to irresponsible treasure-seekers or to hap-hazard enthusiasts. We are at last able to re-construct the general plan of the city, and trace the influences of the seven different nations, the Persians, Macedonians, Mauryas, Bactrian Greeks, Scythians, Parthenians and Kushans, under whose dominion the city has passed. The reader of either this work, or Sir John's recent *Guide to Sanchi* will find his visits to the Indian Museum at Calcutta the more delightful. We have to be thankful that, despite the general stand-back due to this war, in one large branch of learning a great and necessary advance has been made.

Charles Croftes : A Friend of Warren Hastings.

IN the picturesque cemetery at Chittagong there is, a monument to "Charles Croftes, died at Chittagong, 1786, aged 42." In the late C. R. Wilson's most defective *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Bengal possessing Historical or Archaeological Interest*, only one Chittagong inscription is given, *viz.*, that to Lieutenant W. Dickson, but the monument to Charles Croftes covers the remains of one of Warren Hastings' most intimate friends, and this alone should serve as a reason for its being maintained by the Government under the provisions of Lord Curzon's Act. The eleventh of the charges against Hastings at his trial was that in 1779 "he annulled the existing contract for the provision of bullocks and concluded another with his friend Charles Croftes, Esqr., upon wantonly extravagant terms." On this charge Hastings was found guilty by three, and acquitted by twenty-three of the judges, but the relationship between Croftes and Hastings was as the present article will show, one of intimacy.

In 1774 Croftes, formerly Accomptant to the Chief of Council at Murshidabad, was Sub-Treasurer at Fort William. In the year 1777 he held the post of Accountant-General to the Revenue Department an office not to be confounded (as is often done) with that of the Accountant-General. We find one reference to him in Grand's *Narrative* "While I remained in the family of Mr. Hastings I was in the habitude, with my friends Major Palmer and Gale, to make occasional excursions at the end of the week on the river. Our rendezvous generally was either at the lamented Mr. Croftes' plantation at Sooksaugur in which he had introduced the growth of the sugarcane, or at Ghyretty House, the residence of M. Chevalier, the Governor of the French settlement of Chandernagore." The mention of the sugarcane plantation reminds us that in addition to his work at the Revenue Department, Croftes contracted for the rum supplied to the Company's Marine Service. On July 15, 1783, we find the Agent to the Fleet seeking permission "to take over 600 leagues of rum from Mr. Croftes, having engaged to over all that could be made at Sooksaugur for the use of the Fleet." Sooksaugur (Sukhsagar), be it said, is, or was (for Warren Hastings' house at that place has long years ago subsided into the river) on the banks of the Hughli, a little above, and on the opposite side to, Bandel. The house and experimental cultivation grounds were perhaps

in origin Hastings,⁴ and it seems to have been the favourite country-side retreat of "the elegant Marian," but early in 1784 it seems to have become Croftes' property, for we find Hastings on his way to Sooksaugur writing: "Poor Croftes, with the gout in his head, is, in defiance of it and my entreaties, hurrying after me, to make my reception at his house most welcome and salutary." A little later on the Governor-General records: "I am, on the contrary, as well as I have been for many years, for when I landed at Sooksaugur on the 19th my health failed me, and my knees trembled with the walk to Croftes' bungalow." It may be mentioned that it was at Sooksaugur Edward Windler broke a blood-vessel and died on October 10th 1784.

In Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* (June 1781) Croftes appears as "Idle Chasley, the Bankrupt merchant," but idle he can hardly have been if we consult the almost numberless letters in his hand to be found in the Mofussil collectorate offices. There cannot be the slightest doubt but that he was an exceedingly laborious and able revenue official. It is curious that in 1781 he should have been hit off by Hicky as a "bankrupt merchant," for his bankruptcy does not seem to have occurred till 1785, when it befell him in consequence of an unfortunate deal in muslins. The measure of Hastings' personal confidence in his poor gout-stricken friend may be judged from the fact that he selected him to be his wife's trustee in India. When Mrs. Hastings went home in 1784, it was arranged that no less than £5,000 should be paid to Captain Cooper of the *Atlas* for the accommodation of the Governor's wife and companions, and Croftes, who had charge of the negotiation, arranged that the Skipper should receive as payment "muslins" of his manufacture, on the consideration that as no commission would be charged thereon, the worthy captain would make a further profit of 25 per cent. on the bargain. The "muslins" sold for less than £600 of the sum originally fixed, and when Captain Cooper applied for compensation, Croftes was on the verge of bankruptcy!

Hastings left Calcutta finally on February 1, 1785. On September 9 of that year Croftes was appointed Chief and Collector of Chittagong. Sir H. J. S. Cotton, in his *Mémoire on the Revenue History of Chittagong*, records: "It would seem that he was failing in health and resigned his Calcutta offices and endowments of his own accord in order to obtain a transfer to a settlement of established reputation. By a special order, dated 9th November, 1785, his own physician, Mr. John Williams, was permitted to accompany him to Chittagong on the salary of an assistant surgeon. Mr. Croftes must, however, have been a great pecuniary loser by the transfer." Sir H. J. S. Cotton did not know of Croftes' bankruptcy as a private merchant. Nemesis followed Croftes to Chittagong. Sir H. J. S. Cotton



SOOKSAGUR RUINS.
(From Colesworthy Grant's *Rural Life in Bengal*)



SOOKSAGUR HOUSE
(From Colesworthy Grant's *Rural Life in Bengal*)

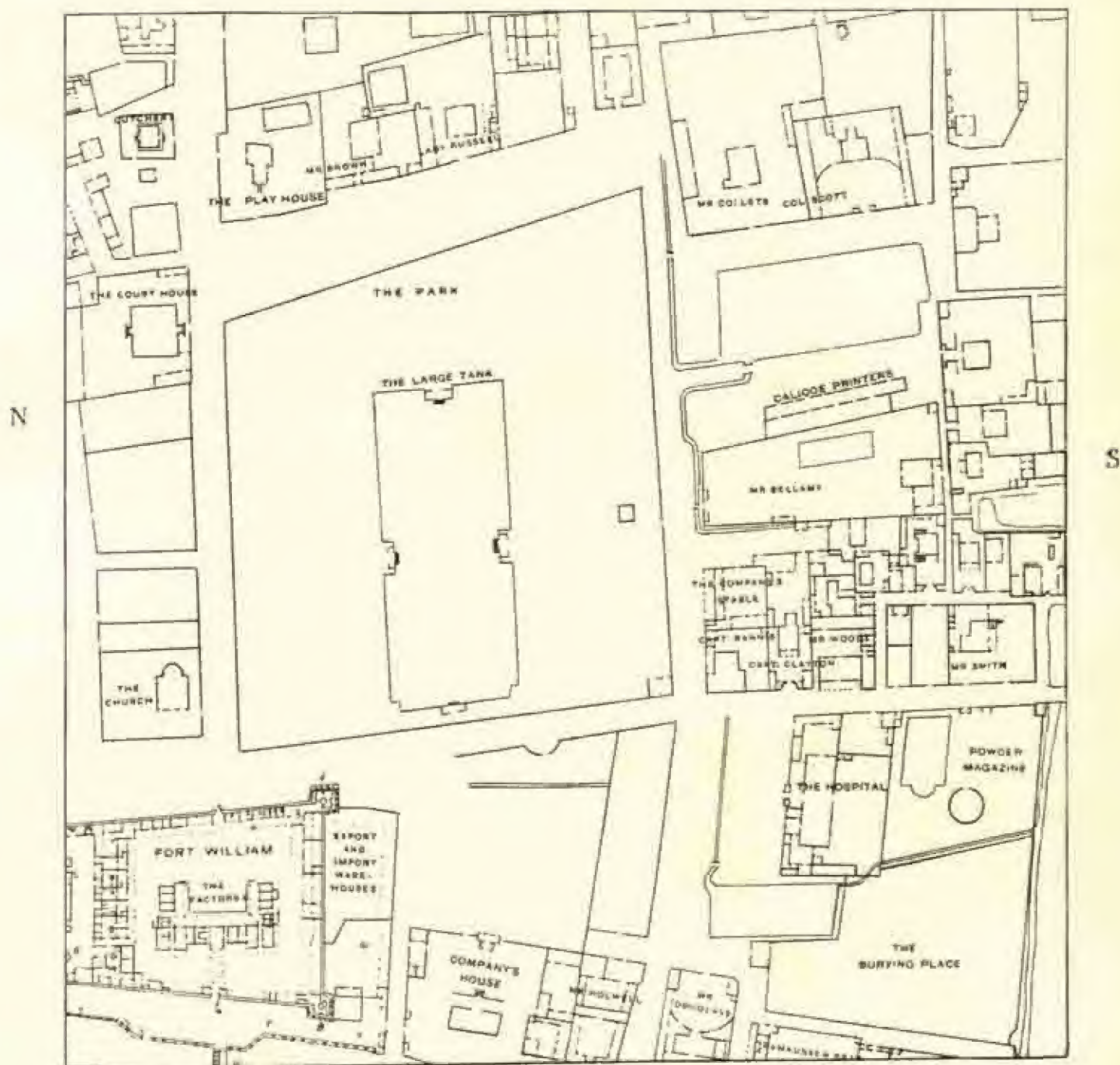
goes on to say: "There was also another considerable inconvenience attaching to the Chittagong appointment at the period. I find that for three consecutive years at least, from 1783 to 1786, the exigencies of Government at the Presidency were so great as to require the immediate monthly remittance of the whole balance of cash in the treasury after receiving sufficient for the payment of the troops and for drafts in favour of the Revenue Committee. All other payments were suspended; not even salaries could be paid. Mr. Croftes, who had joined with other members of the Revenue Committee in issuing these instructions in 1783, when Mr. Irwin was Collector, was compelled to remonstrate against them in 1786, when he was himself a victim to their operation." It is not often that highly placed officials, after having enjoyed the exhilarating delights of taking bird's eye views of the world beneath them, have the further privilege of taking a worm's eye view—but that was the privilege which befell Charles Croftes.

At Chittagong, Croftes had the honour to entertain at his house Sir William and Lady Jones. He completed the revenue settlement for the year 1786-1787. Sir H. J. S. Colton writes:—"The character of Mr. Croftes' work is laborious and conscientious although it is not altogether such as might have been expected from his experience and his own ability. His letters are a marvel of circumlocution, and his deference to authority and respect for the Revenue Committee are remarkable even in an age when official self-abnegation and abasement were more practised than they are in the correspondence of modern times. It was doubtless his bad health that affected the outturn of his work. He died at Chittagong on the 12th of September (1786), just a twelve month after his appointment."

It will be interesting to notice the fate of that old house at Sooksagar where Hastings and his wife had so often resided. A wood-cut picture of the house will be found in Colesworthy Grant's *Rural Life in Bengal*, and Grant tells that "it was built by Warren Hastings as a country residence for himself and three other civilians, and for the purpose of their having an English farm where experiments in the growth of coffee and other products of that nature could be tried." Forbes in his *Oriental Researches* says "that it was an elegant house of European architecture, highly finished, and the grounds disposed with great taste." The name Sooksagar ("dream of delight") is probably derived from an ornamental tank in the neighbourhood constructed by some wealthy Mahomedan native. The property fell into the hands of the wealthy merchant Joseph Barretto, who is said to have lived there "like a prince," and to have erected a chapel, which his successor, M. Lauruletta, "noted for his hospitality and sporting propensities, converted into an abode for mahouts and fighting cocks." In 1792

the sugarcane plantation and rum factory were still flourishing, and we are told that the place was styled "Chota Calcutta." Some sombre verses on the house as it stood in 1829,

Silent deserted and sad
Where the dark tangled grass hides the
Serpents that hiss
And the jackals alone are now glad,
have often been quoted.



Section of William Wells' Plan of Calcutta, 1753.

Leaves from the Editor's Note-Book.

IN the Oct.-Dec. number for 1917, I wrote "owing to the circumstances created by the War the finances of the society are not in a prosperous condition," and I ventured to remark that a comparatively small sum of Rs. 2,000 "would suffice to restore *Bengal: Past & Present* to something like its former condition in amount of materials and illustrations." I have now to acknowledge with the most sincere thanks the receipt of the under-mentioned donations for the support of *Bengal: Past & Present* :—

	Rs.
The Right Hon. Earl Curzon of Kedleston	... 200
Anon	... 200
The Most Rev. the Lord Bishop of Calcutta	... 100
T. Swan, Esq.	... 100
Total	... 600

When after rather more than a year of abeyance, the Calcutta Historical Society revived its energies in the year 1914, one of our earliest and most enthusiastic supporters declined to renew his support on the ground that he supposed that in the seven big volumes of *Bengal: Past & Present* already issued the subject of Old Calcutta must have been exhausted. That so far from this assumption being true, and that we are yet still almost in the infancy of our research, I think, can be shown by the following instance. If you turn to any of the plans of Calcutta dating back to the year 1756, you will find that what is *par excellence* the "High Street" of our modern city is not in existence. Let us glance at the accompanying reproduction of a plan, which belong to the year 1756. The Court House shows us the spot on which St. Andrew's Church now stands. Suppose then we imagine ourselves starting from the doors of the Court House one cold-weather morning in the year 1756. The long row of houses between the east-western of what is Mission Row have not been built, and what is now the western side of Mission Row faces direct towards the Great Tank. Between the road leading southward and the Tank there is what is known as "the Park," and the alignment of the road is very different from that of the road on the east side of the present Dalhousie Square, much of the present road having since

1756 been taken out of the Park. When we have got to the point at which to-day we should find Mango Lane to our left, we find the go-downs of Mr. Collet's house immediately in front of us, and if we wish to find our way to the Maidan we must make a short turn to the right along the south side of the Park, and then, turning to the left, skirt a big tank which covers much of the present site of the General Telegraph Office and last of all turning up a small lane leading southwards come to the Creek, which flowing up what is now Hastings Street and Government Place North, separates the town of Calcutta from the country. If we turn now to Upjohn's Map of 1792 we find Court House Street in full existence. At what date was that great street made? By what authority? Whence came the funds for its construction? That we can at present give no answers to these questions is surely a proof that so far we have not made much progress in the attempt to recover the history of Calcutta in the building.

It is curious to notice how little there is to be found in the old leases which have recently been under review in our pages to enlighten us about the construction of Old Court House Street—a little, I mean, in contrast to the much which may be learned about Chouringhi, Garden Reach, or Lal Bazar. In 1788 we find Richard Johnson, that great Calcutta land-owner, selling to Thomas Henry Davies (the Advocate-General) for Sa. Rs. 45,000 an house "to the eastward of the great road leading from the Old Court House to the Esplanade—and on the south by the great road running east or west with the Esplanade?" Here we have an indication of what was till quite recently "Scott Thomson's Corner" and is now Esplanade Buildings, but I think that the earliest reference to Court House Street is in connection with a property known as "Gokul Gosaul's Bansa Bary," stated [No. 551] to be "in Dhee Calcutta on the high road leading from the Court House to Surman's Bridge. In lease No. 553, dated December, 1783, the Bansa Bary is said to be "on that high road leading southerly from the Old Court House to the Esplanade." The Bansa Bary must have occupied Scott Thomson's Corner, for it is said to be bounded "on the south by the street leading from Dhee Calcutta to Durrantollah." We are thus carried back to 1783 as the latest possible date for the construction of Old Court House Street.

In regard to the side of Old Court House Street from the Telegraph Buildings to Larkins' Lane, the materials for the history of Old Court House Street are abundant. In a house at the corner facing the Great Tank on the west and the street, old Tulloh the auctioneer, (said to be the original of the

Judas in Zoffany's Altar-Piece at St. John's) once did his business. Next to him, on the south, was the Hindustan Bank; and where now is Messrs. Bathgate's place of business was a house belonging to John Prinsep, who was in all probability the builder of the houses in this part of the town. When Government purchased the property now occupied by the Telegraph Department, Messrs. Burkinyoung, F. C. Osler, and Mackillop, Stewart & Co., were in possession respectively of the properties once held by Tullah, the Hindustan Bank, and John Prinsep. A relative who was once kind enough to tell me that I possessed psychic powers of an advanced nature, was good enough to encourage me that I need have no fear if I should chance to find myself walking one dark night through a stone-wall. The stone-wall through which I at present cannot work my way is that of Mr. Collet's godowns in 1756. In other words I cannot at present discover when Mr. Collet's house was pulled down, and a straight road made from the Old Court House to the Esplanade. I have, however, started out to show that we still know but very little, of the story of Calcutta in the building, and, of course, if this be so, there is an enormous field for research open to the Society. In the old deeds of the Bengal Club, the United Service Club, the Great Eastern Hotel, Messrs. James Finlay, Messrs. Bathgate & Co., Messrs. Smith Stanistreet & Co., Messrs. Hamilton & Co., to mention no others, a rich harvest of knowledge would be realised. It is a long and arduous journey to Gaur or Panduah, but there are materials for an entertaining holiday close to hand in nearly every land-owner's strong box.

On pages 116 and 17 of Vol. XIV, I referred to Charlotte Webb, the youngest sister of Mrs. W. M. Thackeray of 'Sylhet,' Mrs. Peter Moore, and Mrs. Thomas Evans. The reference made in her mother's letter to "a sham marriage" suggests that Thackeray may have derived the idea of the plot of *Philip* from this sad page in the family history. I find from Mr. T. A. Venkaswamy Row's *Indian Decisions (Old Series)*, Vol. I, page 1045 that on July 7th 1781, Mr. Newman, the Advocate-General, moved the Supreme Court "to grant the custody of Miss Charlotte Webb, a lunatic, and the care of her fortunes, to her brother-in-law, Mr. Evans." "He produced the affidavits of two Surgeons in the Company's service, and he moved under clause XXV of the charter empowering the Court to appoint guardians for infants and lunatics." The Court "took nothing," since, although they had no doubt of the madness of the unfortunate lady, they were agreed that the custody ought to have been sought for on *petition*, and they doubted "whether the court could determine on her madness by inspection alone, or whether there must also be an inquiry by a Jury before the Sheriff." Alas! Poor lunatic!

In the "Nesbitt Thompson Papers" we have reference to "Grant the informer." Who was this person? On page 154 of the recently published second volume of the *Memoirs of William Hickey*, we read:—

"Another of the duels was between my friends, Robert Pott and James Grant, Pott being a staunch Hastingsite, while Grant was equally zealous on the part of Clavering. These youngmen had therefore been intimate friends, but during the contest for Government, Pott charged Grant with duplicity and with acting the base part of an informer, divulging opinions that had been delivered in confidence and privacy. Grant thereupon challenged Pott. They met, when after exchanging several shots, Pott wounded his adversary in the leg, and the matter ended, but Grant was even after distinguished from many of the same by the title of 'Informer Grant.'"

In my "Leaves," Vol. XIV, page 303, I have shown that the James Grant, so famous for his contribution to the *Fifth Report of 1812* was not appointed to the service till May 1778, so while he may be "Grant the Philosopher," he cannot be "Grant the informer." The latter, Hickey's friend, left Bengal in disgrace in 1776, and we find him in England in 1780 engaged as "a West India merchant in partnership with his elder brother, Peter." Hickey, by the way, has a tale to tell of the sordid treatment dealt out to him by his old friend. In 1780 this James Grant was appointed a senior merchant of Honourable East India Company, and so I suppose returned to Bengal.

It is with deep regret that I record the death of Mr. Bijay Kissor Acharyya, who was so distinguished an ornament of the Indian Christian community in Calcutta. In his Tagore Law Lectures for 1912, Mr. Acharyya dealt with the subject of codification in British India. The lectures though primarily intended for law students are of great value also to historical students, for the lecturer deals with his subject from a historical point of view, and makes use of materials which have been little studied by English historians. I would take this opportunity of acknowledging my due personal debt to Mr. Acharyya for most generous assistance rendered me when I was working at the Hyde Note-books. R. I. P.

In his valuable article on European place names in India, Lieutenant-Colonel D. G. Crawford wrote (*Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. III, page 10):—"Cox's Bazar was named after Captain Hiram Cox, who was sent on a mission to the court of Ava by Lord Amherst about 1820 shortly before the first

Burmese war. He wrote an account of this mission, published in London in 1821, under the title *Journal of a Residence in the Burman Empire and more particularly at the Court of Amarapoorah.* Turning to Mr. W. L. O'Malley's *District Gazetteer of Chittagong*, I find it stated: "the town is named after Lieutenant Cox, who died here in 1798 after he had established a colony of Maghs, who sought shelter in British territory after the conquest of Arakan by the Burmese." Mr. Kiran Nath Dhar has been at pains to go into the matter on my behalf, and he calls my attention to the following notification in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 15th August 1799:—

Deaths.—At Chittagong, on the 2nd instant, Captain Hiram Cox of a fever with which he was attacked at Rummo, while on a deputation from Government to settle some affairs with the Burmans in the district."

Mr. Dhar has also looked up the *Journal of a Mission*, and he reports that it was brought out in 1821 by the author's son, Harry C. M. Cox, who states that his father died at the age of 39. The *General Military Register* (Calcutta, 1795) gives the following statement as to Hiram Cox's career:—

Cadet	...	...	14th September 1779
Ensign	...	...	18th " 1780
Lieutenant	...	...	29th May 1781
Resigned	...	...	22nd December 1788
Re-admitted	...	...	1791
Captain	...	...	1798
Died	...	...	2nd August 1799

The Second Volume of the *Memoirs of William Hickey* is now to hand, and fully justifies the expectations expressed in my last "Leaves." The confessions of vice and dissipation are alas! as prolific as ever, and are not a wit the more pardonable because Hickey, like so many of his race, had "a way with him," and his female relations thought that Hickey was more "vastly agreeable" when drunk than when sober. The *Bengal Obituary* preserves an inscription on the grave of the "darling girl" of the Memoirs.

To the Memory of

MRS. CHARLOTTE HICKEY,

Wife of Wm. Hickey, Esq.,

Who died the 25th December 1783,

Aged 21 years, 10 months and 10 days,

leaving a truly disconsolate husband,

bitterly and incessantly to deplore the loss of her.

There are those for whom "ills have no weight and tears no bitterness."

The form which bitter sorrow takes with Hickey is to record in his *Memoirs* that the beloved one had been the mistress of his friend the mad Captain Mordaunt, and that the poor girl, fearing Hickey's remorse, should he grow weary or disappointed, had declined his offer of lawful marriage. Hickey was a hero in an age when the idea of honour was satisfied by a capital H or one or two duels. Honour on Hickey's case was not associated with paying one's own debts, but in the most foolish way rendering oneself responsible for the bad debts of unworthy friends. The present writer has come across an instance of Hickey's sharp and decisive way of repudiating a really binding obligation—but there is nothing in the *Memoirs* on this head. Well! I will not say anything more on the subject of the almost total absence of conscience from the *Memoirs*. Hickey may be trusted to act as his own hangman. Let us come to what he has to tell us about old Calcutta.

I do not think that Hickey's remarks on the Nanda Kumar case are of much original value. He arrived in Calcutta on November 1st 1777: the Nanda Kumar Trial took place from the eighth to the sixteenth, of June 1775. Hickey states that Chambers declared the verdict to be wrong, but "from his natural frivolity and want of firmness he allowed the influence the Chief Justice had over him to operate so far as to subscribe his name to the death warrant as with those of the other Judges." This statement serves to show that the writer had not a very accurate knowledge of what took place at the Nanda Kumar Trial. Chambers' objection was not to the *verdict*, but to the *indictment*, as he was in doubt whether the Act (2 Geo. 11) making forgery a capital felony was in force in Bengal. It would appear that after stating the objection to the indictment, he gave way to the opinion given by his brethren on bench. The idea that Chambers did not concur in the verdict was naturally enough from his objection to the indictment. Natural frivolity cannot be happy description of Chambers: but "want of firmness" suits very well the man whom J. A. Hickey hit off as "Sir Viner Pllant." Hickey tells us that the several of the gentlemen who had served on the Jury "would have sooner starved than consented to, had they entertained the most distant idea of the execution following such a verdict." This may well be believed, but the assertion is more flattering to their hearts than to their intellects. Hickey as a lawyer ought to have known that any reluctance on the part of a Jury, on grounds of pity to bring in a verdict of guilty tends to confirm the belief that the act for which the accused was condemned was proved by the evidence.

Perhaps the most interesting thing in the book, from a Calcutta point of view, is the picture we have of Colonel Henry Watson and his great enterprize

at Watgunge. This, however, is a subject which we must reserve for a future occasion. We read with interest that Mr. James Agg was one of Hickey's companions on the outward voyage of the *Sea-horse* in 1779, for Agg was none other but the engineer who designed and built St. John's Church. Hickey tells us: "Mr. Agg was, some years after he arrived in Bengal, appointed an Engineer officer, in which corps he rose to the rank of Captain, when he quitted the service and returned to Europe with a handsome fortune. Soon after he reached England the Court of Directors offered him the situation of Lieutenant-Governor of Saint Helena which he declined accepting." Among his voyage-companions was "Mr. James Blacquiere, superintendent of piece goods, a son of his of thirteen, William Coates Blacquiere," the latter a famous person in Calcutta History. We note too on this voyage on the *Sea-horse*, E. Wheler, Mrs. Wheler, and the lady (Miss. Durnford) who was to become the second Mrs. Wheler as well as Richard Tilghman, then a barrister and brother-in-law of Sir Phillip Francis, and Robert Morse a barrister, Mr. George Dallas (afterwards a baronet), John Martin Playdell, John Guichard Booth, Major Lewis Mesmayer (Engineer), Captain Jas. Dickson, and the great Lt.-Col. H. Watson. The names of the Surgeons of the ship are worth noting—James Laird, Humprey Howorth and Cleveland. The latter may have been a relation to the Augustus Cleveland, whose heroic career as Collector of Bhagalpur is known to fame, although it has so far found no historian. The spelling of Cleveland for Cleveand is very common. After leaving Col. Watson's hospitable home at Garden Reach, Hickey and Cleveland chummed together in a house "delightfully situated upon the Esplanade, open to the southward and eastward, and commanding an extensive view up and down the river, to which it was close." Needless to say, this house must have been on the site now covered by the Bank of Bengal. Hickey adds: "It belonged to Mrs. Ogden, the widow of a pilot then recently dead, who had left her this house with other property. The only reasonable objection that could be made was its being *cuteha*, that is, built with mud instead of mortar. Formerly the greater part of the buildings in Bengal were of that description, whereas there is now hardly one to be seen throughout Calcutta, being replaced by well constructed solid masonry. For the house we agreed to pay 300 sicca rupees, or £37 10s. a month. Pott exclaimed upon entering it in its unfinished state, and undertook to get it put into a proper condition for us, which he did at an expense of nearly one thousand pounds." For this house the reader may refer to No. 1304 of my article No. II on Calcutta Streets and Houses in *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV.

The reader who is still interested in Madam Grand will find in these *Memoirs* some points of information to fill in silences in Dr. Busteed's *Echoes*.

Colonel Ironside's *jeu d'esprit* may perhaps give a death blow to chivalrous attempts to apologise for the fair lady, but Hickey only serves to confirm us in the belief that Grand was a merchant in what every honest man would consider as his shame.

The most important public event with which Hickey was connected was the famous Touchet petition against the Supreme Court. On this subject I must remain silent, for Messrs. Cambray & Co., in a most laudable spirit of public zeal, are about to publish a reprint of the Report of the Committee of Parliament on the Touchet petition, and I have somewhat rashly pledged myself to furnish an introduction. In this place I need only say that I believe the Touchet with whom the petition is associated was a young barrister in England, and both Busteed and Sir J. F. Stephen were in error when they connected the petition with Samuel Touchet the Juror in the Nanda Kumar case. The name connected with the petition is John, not Samuel Touchet.

Hickey's friend Bobb Pott was, I surmise, Robert Percival Pott. We are told of Pott's endeavours to bring out to India with him his mistress Emily Warren. Hickey tells us that Sir Joshua Reynolds, who had "painted Emily's portrait many times and in different characters," declared "every limb of hers perfect in symmetry, and altogether he had never seen so faultless and finely formed human figure." Probably Pott's infatuation did not long survive his parting with Emily Warren in 1780. In 1788 he married at Berhampur Miss. Sally Cruttenden, (*Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 502). Of Pott's duel with "Grant the informer" mention has already been made. Of Alexander Higginson and his connection in Massachusetts something was recorded in *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XII, p. 106, and his marriage with Miss Martha Isaacs, recorded on p. 507, Vol. IV. From Hickey we learn that Miss Martha Isaacs* was a young Jewess, who came out to Calcutta in 1777 to follow the profession of a miniature painter. We find a Mr. John Pascal Larkins mentioned as second officer of the *Nassau* in 1779, and in command of the *Warren Hastings* in 1780. It seems reasonable to surmise that this Sea-Captain is the father of John Pascal Larkins, B. C. S., who, as Provincial Grand Master of Bengal, laid the foundation stone of the Custom House on February 12, 1819, that of St. Peter's Church, Fort William on July 24 1822, and that of the Sanskrit College on 25 February, 1824. Captain J. P. Larkins was, I believe, the brother of

* The St. John's Baptismal Register shows the baptism of Martha Isaacs, "a person of riper year" on 1 July, 1779.

William Larkins, Accomptant-General in the days of Warren Hastings and Cornwallis, and from whom Larkins' Lane notes its name. The references to Commodore Richardson, Mrs. Fay's friend, are of interest. Tiretta makes an appearance, and we hear once more his marvellous mixture of the English, French, Portuguese, Hindustani and presumably Indian, and we read again of the full trimmed suit of velvet in which he was wont to appear annually at the Governor's ball on the King's birthday. Of the founder of Indian Journalism, the truculent and unfortunate James Augustus Hicky, we learn that his art as a printer was acquired from the reading of a book during the period of his imprisonment, and that he practised as physician, surgeon and apothecary as well as a printer. Hickey fell in with Thomas Hickey, the portrait painter at Lisbon, but it does not appear that the two Hickeys were relations. At Lisbon too Hickey became acquainted with Louis Baretto.

On the very first page of my "Leaves" in the first volume of *Bengal: Past & Present*, (1907) I spoke in high praise of Mr. C. E. Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. In so doing I pointed out that a work of the kind must pass through a series of revised editions in order that the advantages of criticism and suggestion from a wide-spread public may be turned to profit. I suggested that the then but recently founded Calcutta Historical Society might from time to time issue brief biographical notices on slip forms capable of being conveniently inserted between the pages of Mr. Buckland's *Dictionary*. This proposal has not been adopted. In the meanwhile materials for producing either a new edition or else a new *Dictionary* have been increasing. A survey of Mr. William Foster's *Factory Records* and Sir. Richard Temple's edition of *Streynsham Master* will at once reveal many names which should not be forgotten. The fifteen completed volumes of *Bengal: Past & Present* constitute a very rich treasury of biographical materials, but until the consolidated index for Vols. IX to XV has been drawn up and issued the reader must remain at a great disadvantage. I propose to give here a first trial list of persons whose careers I venture to think should be recorded in a future edition of the *Dictionary*, and I hope it may be possible to publish trial biographical notices of these persons either in *Bengal: Past & Present* or in a separate publication. I shall avoid mentioning the names of living persons or those who have died in quite recent years.

Agg, Aldersey William.
Alexander, James.
Amyatt, (Captain) James.

Baretto, Joseph.
Batson, Stanlake.
Barwell, William.

- Bayley, Henry Vincent.
 Becher John Harman.
 Bellamy, Rev. Gervase.
 Beveridge, Henry.
 Ble, (Colonel) Ole.
 Blacquiere, William Coates.
 Blunt, Sir Charles W.
 Boughton, Gabriel.
 Bouchier, Richard.
 Bristow, Amelia.
 Bristow, John.
 Brohier, Captain John.
 Brooke, William Augustus.
 Brooke, Thomas.
 Broome, Captain Arthur.
 Bryce, Rev. Dr. James.
 Burke, William.
 Burney, Richard.
 Carew, The Most Rev. Patrick Joseph.
 Camac, William.
 Carey, Rev. Wm., The Younger.
 Carstairs, (Captain) Peter.
 Chambers, William.
 Chapman, Charles.
 Chauvet, John Lewis.
 Chevalier, Jean Baptiste.
 Clayton, Thomas William.
 Cockerell, Charles.
 Colebrooke, Sir James Edward.
 Colvin, Alexander.
 Compton, Sir Herbert.
 Cox, Hiram.
 Creighton, Henry.
 Croftes, Charles.
 Culling-Smith, J.
 Dacres, John Milner.
 Dall, Rev. C. H. A.
 Davies, Henry Thomas.
 Day, Sir John.
 De Koros, Cosma.
 Ducarel, George Gustavius.
 Dunkin, Sir James.
 Ellerker, (Major-General) Edward.
 Elliot, Alexander Kynynmond.
 Emin, Joseph.
 Endle, The Rev.
 Evans, Right Rev. John.
 Eyre, Sir Charles.
 Feake, Samuel.
 Fergusson, Robert Cutler.
 Floyer, Charles.
 Fortnom, (Colonel) John.
 Frankland, Henry.
 Frankland, William.
 Fullarton, William.
 Galiez, Primrose.
 Gardner, Hon. Edward.
 Graham, John.
 Greenlaw, Charles Beckett.
 Gyffard, Katherine.
 Gyfford, William.
 Hall, Colonel Francis.
 Hare, John.
 Hastings, The Hon. Capt. Edward
 Plantagenet Robinhood.
 Hay, Edward.
 Hearsey, Lieut.-Col. Andrew Wilson.
 Imhoff, Sir Charles.
 Ironside, (Colonel) Gilbert.
 Jenkins, Major-General Francis.
 Johnson, Richard.
 Johnson, Rev. William.
 Jones, William (Guru Jones).
 Keir, Archibald.
 Knox, Major Ranfurlie.
 Knight, Robert.
 Lacam, Benjamin.
 Larkins, John Pascal.
 Larkins, William.
 Law, Thomas.
 Ledlie, Robert.
 Lemaistre, (Justice) Stephen Caesar.

Lewin, Lieut.-Col. T. H.	Showers, Charles Lionel.
Lushington, Henry.	Stackhouse, John.
McCabe, Robert Blair.	Stanhope, Philip Dormer.
Macleane, (Colonel) Laughlin.	Stephenson, (Governor) Edward.
Macpherson, (Colonel) Allan.	Sterndale, Reginald Cranluird.
Mac Intosh, William.	Stibbert, (Brig.-Genl.) Giles.
Mackay, Capt. William.	Stocqueler, Joachim Hayward.
Madge, Elliot Walter.	Stuart, The Hon. Charles.
Middleton, Samuel.	Surman, John.
Moffat, James.	Swinton, Archibald.
Moore, Peter.	Sykes, Sir Francis.
Motte, Thomas.	Thomason, The Rev. Thomas
Nesbitt-Thompson George.	Truebody.
Newman, Charles.	Thomson, Mowbray.
Obeck, John.	Tiretta, Edward.
Ochterlony, James.	Toone, (Colonel) Sweeney.
O'Donnell, John.	Turnbull, George.
Owen, Rev. John.	Twining, William.
Plaisted, Bartholomew.	Tytler, John.
Playdell, Charles Stafford.	Udney, William.
Pote, Edward Ephraim.	Upjohn, Aaron.
Price, Capt. Joseph.	Vansittart, George.
Rausch, John.	Vansittart Henry.
Renault, Pierie Mathieu.	Wake, Harewold Crawford.
Revel, Henry.	Ward, The Rev. James.
Richardson, (Comodore) William.	Weltden, Anthony.
Robson, Charles Knowles.	Westland, Sir James.
Sealy, Charles.	Wilford, (Colonel) Francis.
Shakespeare, Colin.	Williams, Capt. John.
Shakespear, John (Chief at Dacca).	Williamson, George.

Biographical information concerning Bengal Civil Servants prior to the year 1800 is usually so very difficult to obtain, that I believe it will be useful to print in this place a list of "the Magistrates of the several districts appointed Justices of the Peace under Commissions made patent under the seal of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William. —Signed "Sir Robert Chambers, Knight, Chief Justice, the 4th February in the thirty-fourth year of our reign," *i.e.*, 1794:—

Sir John Richardson, Bart.	...	... Calcutta.
Joseph Bernard Smith	...	...

Ebenezer Jessup	...	...	Calcutta.
Charles Fuller Marley	...	...	"
Thomas Harding	...	...	"
Levi Ball	...	...	"
Burrisb Crisp	...	Of the city of	Dacca.
Edward Eyne Burges	...	"	Murshidabad.
Henry Douglas	...	"	Patna.
John Lumsden	...	Of the zilla of	Burdwan.
Thomas Brooke	...	"	Birbhum.
Archibald Seton	...	"	Bihar.
Edward Colebrooke	...	"	Chittagong.
John Fombelle	...	"	Bhagulpur.
John David Paterson	...	...	Dacca.
William Wilkinson	...	...	Dinajpur.
Cosby Burrows	...	...	Jessore.
John Fendall	...	...	Midnapore.
Walter McGuire	...	...	Mymensingh.
John Edward Harington, Bart.	...	Of the city of	Murshidabad.
Richard Rorke	...	...	Nadia.
John Champain	...	...	24-Pergunnahs.
Shearman Bird	...	...	Purneah.
James Grant	...	...	Rajshahi.
William Hunter	...	...	Ramghur.
Matthew Leslie	...	...	Rungpore.
John Lewis Chauvet	...	...	Shahabad.
Charles Boddam	...	...	Saran.
Henry Lodge	...	...	Sylhet.
William Camac	...	...	Tipperah.
Samuel Middleton	...	...	Backergunge.
Hon. Charles Andrew Bruce	...	...	Cooch Behar.

In giving judgment in the *Martin* case in 1836, Mr. Justice Malkin said: "There might, indeed, in that case, be a speculative and principal question between the rights of the King of England and of the Mogul sovereign; but that is not a question which could ever be entertained by a Court under the King's Charter, or the functionaries acting under a Government created by the authority of Parliament." The Chief Justice, Sir E. Ryan, in his judgment, made use of some words which any student of the conflict between the Supreme Court and the Council in Hastings' day will admit to be remarkable:—

"From the period of the grant in 1763 of the Dewanny of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, including the administration of the public revenue and civil justice, with the whole of the powers exercised by the Mogul constitution, it may be said that these provinces became the territories of the King of England, on the principles laid down by Lord Tenderden in *Doe on the Claims of Thomas v. Acklam*, that a relinquishment by a Government of the territory is a relinquishment of authority over the inhabitants of that territory. From this period, as has been accurately stated by the late Mr. Harrington (*sic*), a most distinguished civil servant, and at the time the Chief Judge of the Sudder Dewanny, the civil and military power of the country with the resources for maintaining it were transferred to the East India Company, and through their means to the British Empire. It is true, that it was not till 1772 that the Company themselves stood forth as Dewan; but in that year, in consequence of orders from the Court of Directors, the office of Naib Dewan was abolished, and the internal government of the provinces was committed to British Agency. In 1773 the British Parliament, after a long and laborious investigation into the whole state and condition of these provinces, passed an act by which they regulated and provided for the whole civil and military government of this presidency, and empowered the King to grant a charter for the establishment of a court here, having, as to British subjects, jurisdiction throughout these provinces. The King, by the Charter granted in the following year, created the Judges of this Court, justices and conservators of the peace throughout Bengal, Behar and Orissa. The writs issued by the court were to be in the King's name, and the Sheriff was empowered to execute these writs throughout the Provinces. Whatever may be said of the time anterior to this as to the empyrean sovereignty of the Mogul, brought down, as Sir Walter Scott observed in 1800, from the clouds, as it were for purposes of policy, and which hardly existed otherwise than as a phantom, I am of opinion, that from this period at least, the territorial acquisitions of the Company in India, though permitted to remain in the possession, and under the Government of the United Company, were part and parcel of the dominions of the King of England."

On this basis, the Chief Justice, said:—

"It will be exceedingly difficult to find any satisfactory reason for saying that after that period an alien could acquire a permanent property in land in the mofussil on the general principle stated by Blackstone, that if he could he must owe allegiance equally permanent with that property to the King of England, which would be inconsistent with that due to his own liege lord. I cannot see any solid grounds upon which in this state of things it can be said that the laws of alienage extends to Calcutta and not to the provinces."

Having cited the opinion of Sir Fletcher Norton, the Chief Justice said: "In all cases of conquest the previous aliens became subjects of the Crown, and of course are virtually naturalized by the act and operation of law. Upon this view of the subject, it does seem to me clearly established that aliens cannot hold lands in the mofussil."

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

Marriages in Bengal, 1786—1792.

(ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.)

THE marriage entries for the years 1713—1754, appeared in Vol. IX, for 1759—1779 in Vol. IV, and 1780—1785 in Vol. VII. The present entries were copied by me. The Garrison and Up-country entries from 1781 onward were copied and in part annotated by the late E. W. Madge, but after his death the MSS. for sometime could not be recovered. It has, however, been secured by Mr. S. C. Sanial, and will appear in a future issue.

For information concerning the military men in the entries the reader should consult Dodwell and Miles' well-known lists; for the clergy he is referred to Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal* and for medical men to Crawford's *History of the Indian Medical Service*. The names marked with a cross are those of persons who, unable to sign their names, made their mark. In the notes the references are as follows:—

B. N.—Baptisms in Calcutta in present issue as numbered.

B. O.—The *Bengal Obituary*, 1848.

B. P. & P.—*Bengal: Past and Present*.

Buckland—*Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

Busteed—*Echoes from Old Calcutta*, Fourth Edition, 1908.

Fay—*Original Letters from India*, Mrs. Eliza Fay, Reprint, 1908.

F. in B.—*History of Freemasonry in Bengal* by W. K. Firminger, 1906.

Grand—*Narrative of a Gentleman*, (Reprinted by the C. H. S in 1910).

Grier—*Letters of Warren Hastings to his wife*, 1905.

Hickey—*Memoirs of William Hickey*, 2 Vols.

Hyde—*Parochial Annals of Bengal*.

Industry—*History of Lodge Industry and Perseverance* by W. K. Firminger. (Not on sale.)

Seton Karr—*Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, 2 Vols. 1865.

- | | | | |
|----|--------------|----|---|
| 1. | 1786 January | 3. | Robert Ledlie, Esq., (1) Barrister-at-Law and Miss Susannah Grand.(2) |
| 2. | " " | 3. | Mr. Charles Rice, Inhabitant, and Miss Elizabeth Le Clare. |

(1) R. Ledlie, cf. Grand, pp. 301—3. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 215.

(2) S. Grand, cf. last reference.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|-----|--|
| 3. | 1786 January | 10. | The Hon'ble William Monson (3) and Miss Ann Debonaire. (4) |
| 4. | " " | 14. | Mr. Robert Samuel Perreau (5) and Miss Mary Cooper. |
| 5. | " " | 28. | Mr. Alexander Colvin (6) and Miss Maria Margaret Paterson. |
| 6. | " February | 4. | Mr. John Mc. Clary, (7) Merchant, and Miss Jane Morgan. |
| 7. | " " | 16. | Lieutenant Richard Humfray, of the Engineers, and Miss Margaret Kiernan. |
| 8. | " March | 4. | Mr. Edward Parry and Mrs. Martha Beer, (8) widow. |
| 9. | " " | 16. | Captain George Awbery, of the Madras Establishment, and Miss Ann Botham. |
| 10. | " June | 3. | Mr. Robert Sheriff, Inhabitant, and Miss Esphimea Urquhart. |
| 11. | " " | 18. | John Wilkinson, Sergeant, and Mary Wheling, widow. |
| 12. | " July | 5. | Mr. George Carr, Mariner, and Frances de Rozario, Spinster. |
| 13. | " " | 18. | James Kilpatrick, Mariner, and Ann Wattan, Spinster. |
| 14. | " August | 6. | Alexander Macleod, Esq., of Madras and Miss Sophia Wrangham. (9) |
| 15. | " " | 26. | Mr. William Hyndman, (10) Junior Merchant, and Miss Zephyretta Guyon. |
| 16. | " " | 28. | Mr. George Davidson, (11) Assistant Surgeon, and Miss. Elizabeth Tidy. |
| 17. | " " | 29. | Thomas Morgan, Mariner and Ann Smith, Spinster. |

(3) The Hon. W. Monson, son of the 2nd Baron Monson, died December, 1807, Buckland.

(4) A. Debonaire. Perhaps a daughter of John Debonaire and sister of Susana Sophia Selina who married (1) at Madras Major John Smith, and (2) at Calcutta Major Thos. Theophilus Metcalfe. See *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. VII, p. 166 and Vol. XIV, p. 206.

(5) R. S. Perreau, *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, pp. 49 and 69, 203. Perreau seems to have founded a firm in Calcutta known as "Perreau and Palling."

(6) Alex. Colvin, born 11th April 1756; died in Calcutta 10 Dec. 1818. *Bengal: Past & Present* Vol. XIV, p. 70.

(7) *Bengal: Past & Present*, Consolidated Index.

(8) Martha Beer. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, pp. 16, 62.

(9) S. Wrangham, perhaps a sister of the famous beauty and amateur actress—Mrs. Blistow, Buxteed, p. 195, *et seq.*, and p. 212.

(10) W. Hyndman, Assistant to the Hon. R. Lindsay when the latter was Collector at Sylhet. *Sylhet Records*, *passim*. *Industry*, p. 31.

(11) G. Davidson. See *Sylhet District Records*.

18. 1786 September 2. John Smith, Batchelor, and Maria Deborah Finn, Spinster.
19. " " 30. Mr. William Dent, Junior Merchant, and Miss Louisa Blunt.(12)
20. " October 22. Mr. Thomas Denton, Chief Officer of the *Phoenix* Indiaman, and Miss. Mercy Evans.
21. " " 24. Mr. John Mackenzie, (13) Senior Merchant, and Miss Elizabeth Dawson.
22. " November 23. Mr. Samuel Oldham, (14) undertaker, and Mrs. Annie Wells, (15) widow.
23. " " 24. Ensign William Leadeater and Miss Mary Austin.
24. " " 26. George Drake, Esq., (16) of the Bombay Marine, and Miss Charlotte Greentree.
25. " December 6. Mr. Thomas Clarke, Merchant, and Ann Slatter, Spinster.
26. " " 25. Mr. John Harman Beecher, (17) Factor in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Harriet Cowper.
27. 1787 January 13. Mr. John Brown Ware, shop-keeper, and Miss. Ann Huett.
28. " " 25. Captain Edward Sandford and Miss. Mary Nixon.
29. " " 27. William Myers, (18) White-smith, and Hannah Ayres, Spinster.
30. " February 1. John Fergusson, Esquire, and Miss Margaret Mitchell.
31. " " 15. Mr. Benjamin Baron and Margaret de Grance of Barrypore.
32. " " 28. Mr. John Christopher Meade (19) and Mrs. Ann Williams, widow.
33. " March 15. John Edmondson, Esquire, (20) Lieut.-Colonel in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss. Sarah Ware.(21)

(12) L. Blunt, perhaps a daughter of Sir W. Blunt, Bart. *Grand*, pp. 303—4.

(13) J. Mackenzie, *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, page 216.

(14) S. Oldham, *Bengal: Past & Present*, Consolidated Index.

(15) A. Oldham. See below No. 98.

(16) G. Drake. Buried 26th April, 1787.

(17) J. H. Beecher, arrived 1779; died 1800. His daughter Anne, on 13th October, 1810, married Richmond Thackeray and became the mother of the Novelist.

(18) W. Myers, *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 179. B. O. 151.

(19) J. C. Meade. *Industry*, pp. 68, 85, Attorney-at-Law, buried 26th December, 1792.

(20) J. Edmondson, buried 2nd February, 1789.

(21) S. Ware. See under date 1791, July 15.

34	1787	April	10.	Mr. John Edward Harrington, (22) (<i>sic</i>) Junior Merchant, and Miss. Marianne Philpot.
35	"	"	10.	Mr. John Topping, Lieut. of Artillery, and Miss. Elizabeth Hunter.
36	"	"	19.	Mr. Vincentio Corbett of Madras and Miss. Sarah Cole.
37	"	"	19.	Mr. George Wroughton, Attorney-at-law, and Miss. Diana Denton.
38	"	"	28.	Mr. George Urquhart Lawtie, (23) Gentleman, and Miss. Sarah Tuting. (24)
39	"	May	8.	Lewis Manly, (25) Inhabitant, and Elizabeth Charley, (26) spinster.
40	"	"	22.	Captain Isaac Binns (27) of the Artillery and Catherine Atwood, (28) widow.
41	"	"	30.	Mr. Bignell Potter, Inhabitant, and Ann Crakley, spinster.
42	"	June	18.	Mr. Thomas Cashman, Conductor of Ordinance, and Margaret Shaw, spinster.
43	"	July	13.	Mr. Thomas Calvert, Senior Merchant in the Honourable Company's Service, and Miss Anne Philpot.
44	"	August	3.	Mr. Robert Grant, (29) Factor in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss. Elizabeth Farquharson.
45	"	"	11.	Mr. Thomas Gowan, Secretary to the General Bank, and Miss. Elizabeth Parry.
46	"	"	12.	George Rice, Sergeant in the Sepoys, and Mary Watson, spinster, a native.
47	"	"	22.	William Bowley, Sergeant of Artillery, and Mary Gibbons, Spinster, a native.
48	"	September	15.	Timothy James Williams, (30) Inhabitant of Calcutta, and Miss. Ann Greenley, widow.

(22) J. E. Harrington not to be confused with John Herbert Harrington.

(23) G. U. Lawtie, died 23th November, 1807, aged 55 years. *B. O.*, p. 92.

(24) Tuting. Miss Phoebe Tuting had married E. R. Jackson on 28th January, 1779, *Fay*, p. 234.

(25) L. Manly, Inhabitant. See No. 159.

(26) E. Charley, buried 4th August, 1787.

(27) Capt. I. Binns, buried 11th November, 1791.

(28) C. Atwood, buried 10th December, 1789. Her infant son buried 6th November, 1789.

(29) R. Grant, a brother of Chas. Grant. See Morris; *Life of Charles Grant*.

(30) T. J. Williams, born in Breckonshire, died 12th August, 1823, aged 63, buried at Chander nagore.

49. 1787 October 29. Mr. Charles Wyatt, (31) Lieut. of Engineers, and Mrs. Charlotte Drake, widow. (32)
50. " November 4. Captain Hiram Cox, (33) Commander of the Ship *Clive*, and Miss May Fraser. (34)
51. " " 9. Mr. Thomas Burney, Inhabitant of Calcutta, and Jane Ross, Spinster.
52. " " 10. Captain Patrick William Douglas of the Hon'ble Company's Military Service and Miss Jane Fortnom. (35)
53. " " 16. Mr. Patrick Butler, Inhabitant, and Mary Lloyd, Spinster.
54. " " 24. Mr. John Evelyn, (36) Senior Merchant in the Hon. Company's Service, and Miss Ann Shee. (37)
N. B.—The above Mr. and Mrs. Evelyn were previously married at Dacca on the 14th day of April last by Mathew Day, Esq., Revenue Chief there, in the presence of Mr. Cosby Burrowes and Mr. George Shee, it having been long customary in India for laymen to act as clergymen in solemnizing marriages when none of the latter resided near the parties to be married.
55. " " 28. Captain John Howe of the Hon'ble Company's Military Service and Jane Harris, widow.
56. " " 28. Mr. James Wintle, Factor in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Elizabeth Hammond. (38)
57. " " 10. Captain Thomas William Clayton (39) and Miss.

(31) C. Wyatt. *Bengal, Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 211.

(32) C. Drake. See above No. 24.

(33) Capt. H. Cox, the founder of the Magh Settlement which bears the name of Cox's Bazar. See "Leaves from the Editor's Note-book" in the present issue.

(34) E. M. Fraser, daughter of Alexander Fraser of Fairfield Inverness, and great-granddaughter of the eighth Lord Lovat. Her eldest sister, Eliza Dele Fraser, married Col. Allen Macpherson; but I have been unable to trace the place (probably Berhampur in Bengal) of her marriage.

(35) J. Fortnom. Perhaps a daughter of Col. John Fortnom, the Civil Architect.

(36) J. Evelyn, one of the earliest members of the Board of Revenue.

(37) A. Shee. Sister of Sir George Shee.

(38) Hammond. This may be an anglicised form of the Armenian name Emla; *Bengal, Past & Present*, Vol. IV, p. 498, Note 85.

(39) T. W. Clayton is to be identified with the Clayton of the following inscription at Barrackpore:—

Lieut.-Col. W. Clayton,
 deceased 22nd September A.D. 1804, aged 50 years.
 He saved the forfeited lives of three hundred men,
 at the assault of the Burrabbutty Fort
 Cuttack, A.D. 1803.
 Only the actions of the brave and just,
 Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.

Emma Maria Jenkins. [*N.B.*—Captain Clayton's marriage in November 1787 was not known to me in time to be registered in its proper place.]

58. 1787 December 1. Mr. John Joys of Calcutta, (40) merchant, and Sarah Simpson, (41) Spinster.
59. " " 16. John Baptist, bachelor, and Ketty de Rozario, spinster. Both Portuguese natives.
60. " " 24. Thomas Bouden, Inhabitant, coachman to Mr. Burke, Paymaster to the King's Troops in India, and Elizabeth Cordoza, a Portuguese native.
61. " " 29. Mr. Thomas Joseph Brown, Inhabitant, and Miss Mary Shipton.
62. " " 30. Mr. Henry Tolfrey, Attorney-at-Law, and Miss Eliza Mercer.

All the above marriages are attested by T. Blanshard, Chaplain, who signs his name at the end of the monthly entries. After them appears the following entry:—

62a. This to certify that Charles Gatley, Lieutenant in the 13th Regiment of Native Infantry, India, and Catherine Young, Spinster, were married at Azim Ghur in the province of Oude, by permission of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, the 13th day of August, 1789.

The marriage was solemnized between us,

CHARLES GATLEY,
CATHERINE YOUNG.

(Signed) G. YATES,
Adj. Quarter M., 13th Regt.

I do certify that the ceremony of marriage here mentioned was performed in my presence, and there being no Clergyman at Azim Ghur that duty was executed by the Public Staff officer at this Station.

D. B. EWEN BAILLIE,
*Colonel Commanding,
Azim Ghur.*

(40) John Joys. See *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 212. *Industry*, p. 11.

(41) Sarah Simpson. Died 5th January 1793, aged 29 years. *B. O.*, p. 78.

After this the entries in the Register take a new form, and include the names of two witnesses, who usually (but not always) sign their names. In order to economise space, the marriages from January 1788 will be given, not in the form in which they actually appear in the Register, but arranged in columns :—

No.	Date	Names of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1788.				
63	Jan. 22	Wm. Johnson (42) ...	.....	A. M. Tolley ... Robt. Chambers (44)	William Johnson, Senior Chaplain.
		Anna Maria Theresa... Tolley (43) ...	..... .....	Chas. Sealey (45) Wm Burke. (46)	
64	Feb. 9	Wm. Stone (47) ...	Merchant ...	George Yeats ...	Thos. Blanchard, Chaplain of the Presidency of Fort William, Bengal.
		Mary Bagshaw ...	Widow ...	Robt. M. Bagshaw, Lieut.	
65	" 13	John Watson ...	Bachelor ...	John Grief (48) ...	Ditto.
		Martina de Corea ...	Spinster ...	Simon de Corea.	
66	" 16	Henry Douglas ...	Lieut. of Artillery, Bachelor.	Robt. Chambers ...	Ditto.
		Elizabeth Lee ...	Spinster ...	Frances Cham- bers.	
67	" 4	Nesbit Ramsay ...	Clerk in the Post Office.	Jane Healy ...	William Johnson, Senior Chaplain of the Presiden- cy.

(42) W. Johnson, Clerk of the Crown. Hickey, Vol. II, p. 127.

(43) A. M. T. Tolley, the widow of Major Tolley whose name is connected with Tollygunje and the Nala. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IV, p. 494.

(44) Sir R. Chambers. Buckland.

(45) C. Sealey, an official first of the Major's, then of the Supreme Court, Portrait in the Vestry-room of St. John's Church. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IV, p. 498, Vol. VI, p. 221.

(46) W. Burke, cousin (not as formerly stated, brother) of Edmund Burke. Paymaster of H. M. Forces in India.

(47) W. Stone. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 69.

(48) J. Grief. See below 1789, April 23rd. An old Charity School boy. Leader of the choir of St. John's Church in 1780. Assistant Master at the School. Died 11th May, 1808. See below No. 106.

No.	Date.	Names of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1788.				
		Sarah Duncan ...	Spinster ...	Robt. Hollier.	
68	Feb. 21	James Inglish Keighley, (49)	.....	.....
		Sarah Christians	.....	John Peach ...	Thos. Blanchard.
		Peach	Spinster ...	T. A. Lyand.	
69	March 2	John Hazard ...	Inhabitant ...	.....	Ditto
		Amelia Fraser ...	Spinster.		
70	" 30	Thomas Barber ...	Merchant ...	Thomas Clark ...	Ditto
		Ann Davidson ...	Spinster ...	Hans Oldham.	
71	" 25	George Goodwin ...	Mariner ...	Ephaim Clarke ...	Ditto
		Elisabeth Blair ...	Spinster ...	William Henry Hunt.	
72	April 1	Robert Kelsall ...	Inhabitant ...	J. Himack.	
		Maria Rogers ...	Spinster ...	J. H. Johnston.	
73	" 3	Thos. Henry Davies(50)	Advocate-General, Bachelor.	C. L. Davies ...	John Owen, Junior Chaplain.
		Ann Baillie ...	Spinster ...	Julia Baillie. Hugh Baillie. (51)	
74	" 7	Gerald La Fontaine ...	Inhabitant ...	Michael Derozio(52)	T. Blanchard.
		Dorothy Derozio ...	Spinster ...	Robt. Hollier.	
75	" 7	Henry Maschmann ...	Inhabitant ...	Michael Derozio.	
		Rosina Derozio ...	Spinster ...	Robt. Hollier(53)...	Ditto

(49) J. I. Keighley, Senior Merchant in 1777 when he married Miss Mary Higgins on 17th May. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IV, p. 303. The latter was buried on 12th November 1787. Board of Trade 1783: Chief at Cosimbazar, 1784.

(50) T. H. Davies, *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. VII, p. 218. Buried 21st January, 1792.

(51) Hugh Baillie. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. V, p. 144.

(52) M. Derozio, *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IV, p. 49.

(53) R. Hollier succeeded J. B. L. Evensque as Clerk of St. John's and Schoolmaster of the Charity School in 1785, when he arrived from England. Died 28th September, 1797.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
76	1788. May 14	Edward Parry ...	Lieut. H. E. I. Co.'s Service.	Joseph Baretto (54)	Thos. Blanchard.
		Philadelphia Bondfield ...	Spinster	Mrs. Bondfield (55)	
77	" 24	John Kinloch (56) ...	Senior Merchant, H. E. I. Co.	.....	Ditto.
		Janet Laurence ...	Spinster.		
78	June 21	Henry Lee ...	Merchant	.....	Ditto.
		Michael Baker ...	Widow.		
79	" 23	John Berg† ...	Mariner	J. Moffat ...	John Owen.
		Betty Letter† ...	Spinster	David Kent.	
80	" 28	James Mowatt† ...	Mariner	Alex. Blair.	
		Anna Morannat ...	Spinster	Michel Perry ...	D. Brown.
81	July 3	William Smoult (57)...	.....	Robt. Chambers ...	Thos. Blanchard.
		Charlotte Hardcastle...	Spinster	Frances Chambers. M. Watson.	
82	" 14	Thomas Martin ...	Assistant Surgeon, H. E. I. Co.	A. Upjohn (58) ...	Ditto.
		Isabel Duncan ...	Spinster	Nat. Ramsay.	
83	" 27	William Thomas ...	Inhabitant	Will. Williams ...	John Owen.
		Mary Greenway ...	.....	Griffith Jones.	
84	Aug. 17	John Dallos ...	Madier.	.....	Thos. Blanchard.
		Elizabeth Foy† ...	Spinster	John Fergusson.† Joseph D'Rozars.	

(54) J. Baretto, *Bengal: Past & Present*, Index, Hickey, Vol. II, p.(55) Mrs. Bondfield, *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 65.

(56) John Kinloch Assistant Provincial Council of Revenue, Collector of Bardwan, 1775. Died 2nd September, 1788.

(57) W. Smoult, an attorney. Part-owner of a bazar at the corner of Dhurrumtollah and Chowringhi who came out on the same ship as the Judges in 1774. Sealer and Clerk to Mr. Justice Chambers.

(58) A. Upjohn. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 221.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1788.				
85	Sept. 5	Isaac Myers Mary Bretonear	Mariner Widow	Lawrence Madeira Timothy Pereira.	Thos. Blanchard.
86	Oct. 9	John Champain (59)... Margery Mackintosh...	..... Spinster	..... Anna Baillie Julia Baillie.	John Owen.
87	" 22	Edward Stretzell Elizabeth Child	Barrister-at-Law Spinster	P. Hay (60) John Peach. J. I. Kelghly	Thos. Blanchard.
88	Nov. 6	William Mercer (61) Barbara Drummond Forbes,	Lieut. H. E. I. C. Spinster	..... J. Champion A. Champion.	Ditto.
89	" 13	Thomas Kincey (62) Elizabeth Patterson	Schoolmaster Widow	..... Robt. Hollier	Ditto.
90	Dec. 6	Edward Gardner (63)... Anne Reid	Auctioneer Spinster	James Dunkin Peter Murray.	Ditto.
91	" 17	John Shipton Juliana Barker	Lieut. of Artillery, H. E. I. C. Spinster	C. Cockerell (64) M. Cockerell (65)	Ditto. Robarter, Carr.
92	" 19	Horne Popham Eliza Moffatt Prince...	..... Spinster	Suluna Peacock (66) Eliza Hay (67)	

(59) John Champain, Magistrate at Dacca, 1790.

(60) P. Hay. *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. VII, p. 166.

(61) W. Mercer. Hodson, p. 256.

(62) T. Kincey, Hyde, p. 236.

(63) E. Gardner. *Industry*, p. 61 et seq.

(64) C. Cockerell. *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 208.

(65) M. Cockerell, daughter of Sir Wm. Blunt, Bart. Buried 5th October, 1789.

(66) S. Peacock. See Note 103.

(67) Eliza Hay, née Wagstaffe.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
93	1788. Dec. 20	William Davidson ...	Lieut. H. E. I. C., Madras Establish- ment.	William Burke ...	Thos. Blanchard.
		Mary Kirkpatrick ...	Spinster ...	E. Stretale.	
94	1789. Jan. 13	Thomas Armitage ...	Sergt.-Major, H. E. I. C.	Robt. Hollier ...	Ditto.
		Elizabeth Boutonert ...	...	James Robinson.	
95	" 17	George Dickinson ...	Junior Merchant, H. E. I. C.	R. J. Perreau ...	Ditto.
		Elizabeth Horton ...	Spinster ...	M. Perreau.	
96	" 25	John Allison ...	Musician ...	S. Seeborg ...	John Owen.
		Hannah Mena ...	Widow ...	Robt. Hollier.	
97	Feb. 4	Charles Cockerell ...	Senior Merchant...	M. Smith ...	Thos. Blanchard.
		Maria Tryphena Blunt	Spinster ...	J. Shore. — Blunt. Henry Trail. (68)	
98	" 17	Richard Haigh(69) ...	Coachmaker ...	Thomas Barber ...	Ditto.
		Anna Oldham(70) ...	Widow ...	William Thomeon.	
99	Feb. 22	Richard Comyns Birch.(71)	Factor, H. E. I. C.	Jacob Rider ...	Ditto.
		Frances Jane Rider(72)	Spinster ...	Frances Jane Rider	
100	March 3	Samuel Farmer ...	Major, H. E. I. C.	.....
		Susanna Roboiana Brown.	Spinster ...	E. Hay ... Serina Hay.	Ditto.

(68) Henry Trail. See under date 4 March, 1790.

(69) R. Haigh. *Industry*, p. 67.

(70) Anna Oldham. See number 22.

(71) R. C. Birch. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 68.

(72) F. J. Rider, probably a daughter of Jacob Rider of the Civil Service. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IV, p. 497; Vol. V, p. 146 and Vol. XIV, p. 63.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1789.				
101	March 3	George Frederick Cherry.(74)	Senior Merchant, H. E. I. C.	J. Fleming.(73)	
		Martha Maria Paul ...	Spinster ...	J. Fleming. ... Thos. Graham. T. Dashwood.(75)	Thos. Blanchard
102	" 26	Robert Perry ...	Mariner ...	...
		Jane Healy ...	Spinster ...	W. Gowdie ... Robt. Duncan.	Ditto.
103	" 28	Henry McKenley	Lieut., H. E. I. C.	Thomas Brown ...	Ditto.
		Edith Brown ...	Spinster ...	John Brown. Ja. Cooper.	
104	April 16	George Hilary Barlow.(76)	Junior Merchant, H. E. I. C.	Emily Bristow (77)	John Owen.
		Elizabeth Smith ...	Spinster ...	John Urie Collins.	
105	" 22	Nicholas Charles ...	Merchant ...	Roger Gale.	
		Mary Butler(78) ...	Widow ...	Thomas Boileau... A. M. Stuart.	Thos. Blanchard.
106	" 23	John Grief(79) ...	Scrivener ...	...
		Sophia Catharina Friend.	Spinster ...	Aratoon Gatoos ... Robt. Holber.	Ditto.
107	May 1	William Williams ...	Merchant ...	Francis Pippard(80)	Ditto.
		Hannah Grant ...	Spinster ...	Edwd. Gardner.	

(73) J. Fleming, a Surgeon. Crawford, Vol. I, pp. 228, 261; Vol. II, pp. 7-14; 33; 370. Carey, Vol. I, p. 179.

(74) G. F. Cherry. Murdered at Benares 14th Jan. 1799. Grand, p. 312.

(75) T. Dashwood. Perhaps Thomas Dashwood, Agent for the supply of Stationery.

(76) G. H. Barlow, joined the Civil Service in 1778. Appointed Governor-General, 1805. Buckland.

(77) Emily Bristow, perhaps Amelia Bristow. Buteed, p. 211 *et seq.*

(78) Mrs. Butler. See above under date, 16th November, 1787.

(79) J. Grief. See above note No. 48.

(80) F. Pippard. See below No. 147.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
108	May 17	1789. David Parker ...	Mariner ...	.....	Thos. Blanchard.
		Annetta Spoonade† ...	Spinster ...	T. Elliot† Thos. Lapsont† ...	Ditto.
109	July 7	Edward Griffith ...	Steward ...	J. Harey Hant.	J. Owen.
		Anna Maria Monroe ...	Spinster ...	Robt. Hollier.	
110	" 8	Ezekiel Beck(81) ...	Merchant ...	Robert Duncan ...	J. Owen.
		Sarahannah Losh† ...	Widow ...	Celia Duncan.	
111	" 14	Arthur Mair ...	.....	.....	Thos. Blanchard.
		Jean Bannerman ...	Spinster ...	J. N. Dempster ... G. U. Lawtie.	
112	" 17	George Gowan ...	Capt. of Inf., H. E. I. C.	.....	Ditto.
		Mary Parry ...	Spinster ...	Richard Morris. Thos. Gowan.	
113	" 19	William Swift ...	.....	.....	Ditto.
		Sarah Langley ...	Spinster ...	John Swift. Robt. Hollier.	
114	Aug. 10	Jabes Mackenzie ...	Capt. of Inf., H. E. I. C.	M. Cameron ...	Paul Littrick, Chap- lain of the Sta- tion at Chunar.
		Judith Margaretta Gordon.	Spinster ...	John Murray. G. U. Lawtie.	
115	" 12	Edmond Lambert ...	Capt. of Inf., H. E. I. C.	.....	Thos. Blanchard.
		Sophia Hepburn ...	Spinster ...	John Herbert Har- ington(82). Chas. Sealey.	
116	" 13	Robert Holt ...	Junior Merchant, H. E. I. C.	.....	John Owen, Junr. Chaplain of Fort William.

(81) E. Beck. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XV, p. 1. Died at Dacca 30th March, 1791.

(82) J. H. Harrington. Buckland.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1789.	Margaret Donaldson...	Spinster ...	Chas. Barber, L. Peacock.	
117	Aug. 17	William Nevil Carnar- on.	Major of Engineers, H. E.	.....
		Charlotte Gordon ...	Spinster ...	Jabez Mackenzie ... John Murray,	Paul Limrick.
118	Sept. 9	John Neave ...	Junior Merchant, H. E. I. C.	Emily Bristow.	
		Catherine Smith ...	Spinster ...	J. Campbell ... K. Ross.	Thos. Blanshard.
119	Oct. 4	Bartholomew Hart- ley(83).	Surg., H. E. I. C.	De Savillebagus...	John Owen.
		Elizabeth Laney ...	Spinster ...	— Delafous.	
120	" 9	John Marshall ...	Of Dacca, merchant	Thos. Smith ...	Ditto.
		Elizabeth Taylor ...	Widow ...	J. H. Wingrove.	
121	" 26	John Rawlins ...	H. E. I. Co.'s Civil Service.	B. Grindall (84) ...	Ditto.
		Frances Powney(85) ...	Spinster ...	Catherine M. Pow- ney.	
122	" 29	John Haldane(86) ...	H. E. I. Co.'s Civil Service.	R. Haldane ...	Chas. Seacombe, Missa.
		Anna Holmes ...	Spinster ...	J. White.	
123	Nov. 17	John Williams ...	Capt. H. E. I. Co.'s Service.	A. W. Hearsay(87)	John Owen.
		Jame Dale ...	Spinster ...	C. M. Hearsay(88).	

(83) B. Hartley, *Bengal: Past & Present*, C. Index.(84) B. Grindall. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. VII, p. 171; Vol. XIV, p. 210.(85) F. Powney. For references to members of the Powney family, see *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IX, pp. 71 et seq.(86) J. Haldane. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 65.(87) A. W. Hearsay. Lt.-Col. A. W. Hearsay, died 10th July, 1798, buried at Allahabad. The father of Lt.-Genl. Sir John Bennet Hearsay. Pearse: *The Hearsays*.(88) C. M. Hearsay *née* Charlotte Crane, married at Walton-on-the-Thames in 1787.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1789.				
124	Nov. 23	Turner Macan(89) ...	H. E. I. Co's Ser- vice.	Chas. Chapman(90)	John Owen.
		Frances Louisa Anne Prait.	Spinster ...	John Cochrane. R. C. Birch. W. Camac(91) ...	Ditto.
125	Dec. 1	Charles Law ...	H. E. I. Co's Ser- vice.	Joseph Price, Jun- ior(92).	
		Anna Maria Stuart(92)	Widow ...	Richard Burney(94)	
126	" 16	George Bartisunt ...	Mariner ...	David Flint ...	Ditto.
		Joanna de Pereira ...	Single woman ...	Thomas Wilson.	
127	" 16	James Browne ...	Lieutenant-Colonel H. E. I. C.	A. Ellerker(95) ...	Ditto.
		Catherine Charlotte Raper.	Spinster ...	E. Ellerker. Eliza Ellerker.	
128	" 31	Nathaniel Penny Rees	.....	Eliza Simpson ...	Ditto.
		Margaret Gregory ...	Spinster ...	Anna Simpon. Eliza Ellerker. W. Camac. Jno. Rider. Joseph Price, Junior	
	1790.				
129	Jan. 1	John Farrer ...	Pilot ...	William Myers ...	Thos. Blenshard.
		Sarah Pinhorn ...	Spinster ...	John Cordingley.	

(89) Turner Macan, F. in B., pp. 69, 71.

(90) C. Chapman. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. VII, p. 168; Vol. XIV, p. 214. Grier.
pp. 223: 435.

(91) W. Camac. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 208.

(92) A. M. Stewart died 31st May, 1792, aged 26. Her infant son died 10th April following.
B. O., p. 78.

(93) J. Price, Junior, nephew of the well known Sea-Captain and pamphleteer, Capt. Joseph
Price.

(94) R. Burney, brother of Madame D'Arblay. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IX.

(95) A. Ellerker. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. VII, p. 167. See under "Garrison and
Upcountry" for marriage of Eliza Ellerker, at Maghys, 16th June 1791. Gen. E. Ellerker died at
Bhagalpur 15th November, 1800, aged 63. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. VIII, p. 210.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1790.				
130	Jan. 7	William Farquharson (95a) And Eliza Nesham ...	H. E. I. Co's Service. Spinster ...	Eliza Hay. John Carnac(96)... Eliza Grant(97). Robt. Grant. E. Elinor Dyer. Jane Louisa Debonnaire.	John Owen. Ditto.
131	" 10	James Sutherland(98) Anna Potter ...	..... Widow ...	John Grief. Elizabeth Pichman	
132	" 24	Joseph Weldon ... Susannah Bowers† ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	John Bowers ... P. Moffat.	Thos. Blanshard.
133	Feb. 7	Garret Dillon ... Jenny Johnson ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	Pat. Andrews ... Ephraim Clarke.†	Ditto.
134	" 9	Daniel Bridges ... Silvia De Rozario† ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	Pat Andrews ... Ephraim Clarke.†	Ditto.
135	" 12	Thomas Wilson ... Mary Gilbrith ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	Thos. Carr ... Jas. Broden.	John Owen.
136	" 14	Thomas Mackenzie ... Mary de Rozario† ...	Blacksmith ... Widow ...	Francis Pires ... Andio Argoly.	Ditto.
137	" 17	John Moubray(99) ... Elizabeth Simpson ...	..... Spinster ...	Robt. Graham ... Phineas Hall. W. Simpson.	Thos. Blanshard.
138	" 20	Joseph Hancock Hutchinson.	.....	.....	Ditto.

(95a) W. Farquharson. *Bengal, Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, pp. 66—7.

(96) Carnac. This is probably the well known Brig-General. Buckland.

(97) E. Grant. See above No. 44.

(98) James Sutherland, died 24th December, 1796, aged 39. B. O., p. 256.

(99) J. Moubray. F. in B., pp. 58, 69.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1790.				
		Elizabeth McTaggart ...	Spinster ...	Henry Swinhoe. Richd. Brown.	
139	March 1	Charles Russell Crom- mellin. (100)	Junior Merchant, H. E. I. C.	M. Brown ...	Thos. Blanshard.
		Juliana Shipton ...	Widow ...	Jno. Cockrell.	
140	" 4	Henry Trail ...	.....	.....	Ditto.
		Anna Simpson ...	Spinster ...	Jno. Moubray. G. U. Lawrie.	
141	" 5	James Whrattey ...	Mariner ...	Thomas Tylar ...	Ditto.
		Anna de Rozario ...	Widow ...	Ephraim Clark.†	
142	" 20	William Terranean (101)	.....	.....	Ditto.
		Elizabeth Mitchell ...	Spinster ...	L. Brown. Alex. Colvin.	
143	April 6	John Neish ...	Printer ...	Robt. Hoffer.	
		Rosart ...	A native woman ...	J. Duncan ... W. Eliam Lang.	John Owen.
144	" 6	Thomas Smith ...	.....	Michael Derozio...	John Owen.
		Dorothy la Fontaine ...	Widow ...	William Dolby.	
145	" 14	Edward McEnnis ...	Mariner ...	John Holland ...	Ditto.
		Anna Pereira (102)† ...	Spinster ...	John Winter.	
146	" 31	Thomas De Cruz† ...	A native Protest- ant.	T. Craven ...	Thos. Blanshard.
		Elizabeth† ...	A native Hindoo, but lately bapti- zed.	Modummohun Paul	
147	" 24	Thomas White† ...	Mariner ...	John Corey ...	John Owen.

(100) C. R. Crommellin. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, pp. 206—7.(101) W. Terranean. *Bengal: Past & Present*, 356. Vol. XIV, p. 195.

(102) Anna Pereira. See No. 243.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1790.	Margaret De Cruz† ...	Spinster ...	Thomas de Cruz.†	
148	May 5.	George Philbrow ... Catherine Lowmjeet...	Mariner ... Single woman ...	Thomas Andrews... Fra. Smith.	Thos. Blanshard.
149	" 10	Francis Pierrard ... Sabina..... Peacock (103)	Junior Merchant, H. E. I. C. Spinster ...	Robt. Ledlie ... S. Ledlie.	John Owen.
150	" 23	John Coles ... Mary Bruce† ...	Inhabitant ... Spinster ...	Joseph Turner ... Edward K. Wilson	John Blanshard.
151	" 24	John Fergusson† ... Aksofia James† ...	Mariner ... Widow ...	G. Harding ... Chas. McCarthy.	John Owen.
152	June 3	John Fendall(104) ... Mary Farquharson ...	Senior Merchant, H. E. I. Co. Spinster ...	Eliza Serena Hay Ann Eliza Farquharson. W. Farquharson, Jane Louisa Debonairs. R. Haldane. R. Goodlad.	Thos. Blanshard.
153	" 11	John Knott ... Anne Rowland ...	Inhabitant ... Spinster ...	..... James Gardiner.† Rt. Hollier.	Ditto.
154	July 10	John Lewis ... Mary Skardon ...	Inhabitant ... Widow ...	Willm. Legh ... Richd Phairey.	Ditto.
155	" 12	Griffith Jones ... Mary Brightman ...	..... Spinster ...	Will. Williams ... W. B. Greenway.	John Owen.

(103) S. Peacock. A most interesting account of this young lady is given in *Grier*, p. 352.

(104) J. Fendall. Collector at Marshidabad.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
156	1790. July 20	Richard Campbell Bazett, (105) Margaret Ann Hampton.	..... Spinster	Alex. Colvin ... Samuel Hampton (106) Richd. Morris. Robt. Graham.	John Owen.
157	" 24	Samuel Pullen ... Ann Elizabeth Christian†	Inhabitant ... Spinster	J. McArthur ... Andrew Moss.	Thos. Blanchard.
158	Oct. 7	Francis Brown ... Mary Campbell†	Pilot Service ... Spinster	Archibald Campbell (sic). John Rae.	John Owen.
159	" 7	Lewis Manley (107) ... Ann Da Bruyn ...	..... Spinster	..... Michael Derozio. Mathew Mendes.	Ditto.
160	" 10	Robert Lister† ... Elizabeth Dixon†	Mariner ... Spinster	Joseph Simpson ... Est. Harding.	Ditto.
161	" 10	William Watson ... Tranche da Rozario†...	Mariner ... Spinster	John Jones ... William Bason.	Ditto.
162	" 19	Isaac Binns (108) ... Henrietta Priscilla Caroline Carter.	Captain, H. E. I. C. ... Spinster	James Frushard (109). Caleb, John Garbrand.	Thos. Clarke, <i>English Missionary</i> .
163	" 23	Alex. Davidson (110) ... Anna Ellen Mary Isabel Rice.	..... Spinster	..... Charles Rice. Jas. Collie.	John Owen.

(105) R. C. Bazett. The Bazett family extended their business from St. Helena to Madras and Calcutta.

(106) S. Hampton. Col. S. Hampton, one of the most extensive owners of houses in Calcutta at this period.

(107) L. Manley. See above, No. 39.

(108) I. Binns. See above, No. 40.

(109) James Frushard. See Hunter: *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 357 et seq.

(110) A. Davidson. See *Sylhet District Records*.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1790.				
164	Oct. 29	William Farmer Simpson.	.....	.....	John Owen.
		Ann Williams ...	Widow ...	G. Hamilton. B. Geraud.	
165	" 30	John Campbell ...	Of H. M.'s Navy...	Samuel Hampton	Ditto.
		Catherins Mackintosh	Spinster ...	—Barges.	
166	Nov. 6	Joseph Locke ...	Mariner ...	G. Harding ...	Ditto.
		Hannah de Rezo ...	Spinster ...	G. Wiltshire.	
167	" 7	George Wiltshire ...	Mariner ...	J. Moffat ...	Ditto.
		Sarah Lockett ...	Spinster ...	Theoph Randall.	
168	" 8	Edward Bruce ...	.....	.....
		Elizabeth Greenway ...	Spinster ...	Will. Williams ... Will. Thomas.	Ditto.
169	" 24	John Ulric Collins ...	Captain, H.E.I.C.		
		Charlotte Wrangham	Spinster ...	John Bristow(111) R. Dundas.	Ditto
170	Dec. 1	Joseph O. Halloran ...	Lieut., H.E.I.C.		
		Frances Bayley ...	Spinster ...	S. H. Showers ... G. St. John, Capt., 73rd Regt.	Ditto.
171	" 3	Thos. Stone ...	Pilot Service.		
		Dominga Couriat ...	Spinster ...	Geo. Bartran ... J. Moffat.	Ditto

(111) J. Bristow. See *B. P. & P. Index*. Buxton, p. 211 et seq.(112) W. K. Amherst. Collector of Rangpur, died at Rangpur, 29th April 1792. *B. O.*, p. 373.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1790.				
172	Dec. 8	William Kerville Amherst. (112)	Senior Merchant, H. E. I. C.		
		Caroline Powney ...	Spinster ...	B. Grindall ... Jno. Rawlins. A. Caldecott (113) Charlotte Grindall	John Owen.
173	Nov. 19	Henry Harris ...	Mariner ...	J. B. Levesque ...	Ditto.
		Anna de Rozario ...	Spinster ...	P. Hollier.	
174	" 20	Barnard Hard ...	...	Wm. Jones ...	Ditto.
		Anne Robertson ...	Spinster ...	J. J. Vallenti.	
175	" 31	John Ludwig Jacobi (114)	Silversmith ...	J. Moffat ...	Thos. Blanchard.
		Mary Johnson ...	Spinster ...	Wm. Gray.	
	1791.				
176	Jan. 15	John Banister Hudson	...	Benj. Blake ...	John Owen.
		Margaret Bacon ...	Spinster ...	John Cooke.	
177	" 30	William Nuthall ...	Pilot Service ...	Joseph Price, (Jr.)	Ditto.
		Maria Skaffart ...	Spinster ...	Wm. Mangeon.	
178	Feb. 11	James White ...	Printer ...	Robt. Udney (115)	David Brown, Chaplain to the Garrison of Fort Williams.
		Anna Elizabeth Obeck† (116).	Spinster ...	Jane Robinson.	
179	March 7	Francis Purchase (117)	Inhabitant ...	Fras. Gladwin ...	Thos. Blanchard.
		Isabella Gladwin ...	Spinster ...	W. Gillespie.	

(113) A. Caldecott. Accomptant to the Board of Revenue.

(114) J. L. Jacobi, died 1st October, 1806. B. O., p. 198.

(115) R. Udney. Of the Board of Trade. Mr. and Mrs. Udney, in crossing the river, were drowned, 3rd January, 1794, he aged 31, she 26.

(116) A. E. Obeck, probably a daughter of the Missionary, John Obeck, who after an association with great Swartz, came to Calcutta, and resided there for 25 years, dying on 19th September, 1803. Seton-Karr Vol. III, pp. 388—89.

(117) F. Purchase. B. O., p. 74.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1791.				
180	March 25	Robert Holt ...	Senior Merchant, H. E. I. C.	L. M. Taylor ...	John Owen.
		Henrietta Nezham ...	Spinster ...	F. Pierard. D. Vander Heyden (118).	
181	May 1	John Allen ...	Inhabitant ...	John Holland ...	Thos. Blanshard.
		Ann Erea Feraraj ...	Spinster ...	R. Hollier.	
182	" 5	William Harvey ...	Musician, Bachelor	John Fitzgerald ...	Ditto
		Sarah Gunkleman ...	Widow ...	Rob. Wilton,†	
183	" 21	James Stark (118a) ...	.....	A. Holland ...	John Owen.
		Charlotte Augusta Ritso.	Spinster ...	Wm. Jackson (119)	
184	June 7	Thomas Andrews ...	Mariner in the Pi- lot Service.	Archibald Camp- bell.	Ditto.
		Elizabeth Hervey ...	Spinster ...	R. Hollier.	
[The above couples were married at the Portuguese Church, 27th May 1788.]					
185	" 19	William Smith ...	Inhabitant ...	John Forrest ...	Thos. Blanshard.
		Martha Noble† ...	Spinster ...	William Collier.	
186	" 29	Henry Grace ...	Captain, H. E. I. C.	L. Greene ...	John Owen.
		Ann Helena Daniel ...	Spinster ...	Robt. Greene.	
187	July 6	John Wood (120) ...	.....	.....	Ditto.
		Elizabeth Jaffray (121)	Spinster ...	John Bentley. Rob. Duncan.	
188	" 8	George Reece† ...	Bengal Pilot ...	Hume Jackson ...	Thos. Blanshard.
		Ann Martin† ...	Spinster ...	Thomas Andrews.	

(118) D. Vander Heyden. *Commissary of Musters*, 1777.(118a) James Stark. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 64.(119) Wm. Jackson, *Registrar of the Supreme Court*.(120) J. Wood, died 7th August, 1819, aged 55. *B. O.*, p. 212.(121) E. Jaffray, died 14th May, 1792, aged 42. *B. O.*, p. 212.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1791.				
189	July 13	Thomas Hawkshaw ... Gertrude Christiana Hatfield.	Captain, H. E. I. C. Widow ...	Donald D. Campbell. Thomas Boileau. V. B. Vanus.	Thos. Blanshard.
190	" 15	James Pearson ... Sarah Edmonson(122)	Captain, H. E. I. C. Widow ...	Eliza Hay ... Chas. Barber. Tho. Burke.	John Owen.
191	Aug. 4	Michael George Prendergast. Catherine Frances Smith.	..... Spinster ...	..... F. Chambers ... Wm. Smolts. A. Smith.	Thos. Blanshard.
192	" 18	William Dean ... Anna Strachan ...	Mariner. Spinster ...	Jno. B. Hudson ... G. K. Gonon.	Ditto.
193	" 22	James Mackay ... Jane Robinson ...	..... Spinster ...	..... Henrietta Peal. Duncan Mackay. S. Boom.	D. Brown.
194	Sept. 10	Hugh Rose(123) ... Anna Topham ...	Lieut., H. E. I. C. Spinster ...	John Mackenzie. Chas. Chapin ... E. Mackenzie. M. L. Chapman.	John Owen.
195	Oct. 14	Thomas Thornton ... Harriet Frances Skardon.	Inhabitant ... Spinster ...	..... John Lewis: John Hancock Hutchinson.	Thos. Blanshard.

(122) S. Edmonson. See above, No. 33.

(123) H. Rose. For Hugh Rose of the Civil Service, of Kilravock in Scotland, who died at Mirzapur on 29th January, 1817, see B. O., p. 393. A Genealogical direction of the family of Rose of Kilravock was issued by the Spalding Club, in 1848.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1791.				
196	Oct. 16	Patrick Hanlay, ... Susanah Allison ...	Inhabitant ... Widow ...	Ja. Lilly ... Nancy Lilly,†	John Chist. Drenmer, V. D. M.
197	" 16	Daniel Gardener ... Mary Stockdale ...	..... Spinster ...	..... John Cox. Thos. Stockdale ... David Gardener.	John Owen.
198	" 16	Benjamin Leonard Jones ... Ann Hall ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	James Sutherland. Ann Sutherland.	Thos. Blanshard.
199	" 27	John Reid ... Annalet ...	Merchant ... Spinster ...	John Hyde (124)... T. Holland.	John Owen.
200	Nov. 2	Thomas Benbow ... Maria de Roxariot ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	James Kith ... James Weyss.	Thos. Blanshard.
201	" 3	Charles Maclean ... Margaret Robertson ...	Surgeon of the Northumberland Indiaman. Spinster ...	Frances Chambers. Geo. Wilton.	Ditto.
202	" 10	Gregory Hickman ... Gertrude Henrietta Vana.	Ensign, H. E. I. C. Spinster ...	W. Vane ... Holloran. Jas. Gamoyne.	Ditto.
203	" 13	David Stuart ... Johanna Smith ...	Inhabitant ... Spinster ...	..... Alex. Sannell ... John Shearman.	Ditto.
204	Dec. 1	John Hangerford ... Mary Anne Pyoe ...	..... Spinster ...	..... James Dunkin ... Charles Rice.	Ditto.

(124) John Hyde. There was a merchant of this name as well as the wellknown Judge in Calcutta.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1791.				
205	Dec. 1	John Lewis Chauvet (125).	Senior Merchant H. E. I. C.	Thos. Boileau (126)	Thos. Blanchard.
		Frances Boileau ...	Spinster. ...	Wm. Couran.	
206	" 1	John Reid ...	Surgeon, H. E. I. C.	Thos. Boileau ...	Ditto. It is stated that these parties were married at Chittagong on 19th May by S. Bird, no clergyman being resident at that place.
		Ann Boileau ...	Spinster ...	Wm. Couran.	
207	" 9	John Palmer (127) ...	.....	Henrietta Holt ...	Thos. Blanchard.
		Mary Sarah Hampton	Spinster ...	Robert Holt.	
208	" 10	James Thomas Kennedy (128)	.....	.....
		Mary Wilkins ...	Spinster ...	Thos. Lee ... John Bellewe. Chas. Ladd.	John Owen.
209	" 30	Phillip Rock ...	Mariner.		
		Sarah Parsons ...	Spinster ...	James Sutherland. G. S. Hillron.	Thos. Blanchard.
	1792.				
210	Jan. 1	Andrew Moffatt (129)	Taylor, Bachelor...	Ludwig Jacobi ...	Ditto.
		Mary Johnson (130) ...	Spinster ...	William Roberts.	

(125) J. L. Chauvet. Sent in charge of a Mission to Kuch Behar 1788. Buried in one of the closed and walled-in cemeteries at Arrah. Died 15th August, 1794, aged 54.

(126) Thos. Boileau, a lawyer. *B. P. & P. B. O.*, p. 90. Churchwarden of St. John, 1797.

(127) J. Palmer. Buckland. J. B. Levesque. Church clerk in 1786, and Master of the Charity School. Died 7th September, 1795.

(128) The firm of Lee and Kennedy, did business in a house which stood on the site of the Home Office Buildings in Government Place West.

(129) A. Moffatt, died 8th January, 1817, aged 55. *B. O.*, p. 198.

(130) M. Johnson. According to the *B. O.* (p. 198) she must have been under the age of 14 when she married, for she died 12th September, 1800, aged 21 years and 6 months.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1792.				
211	Jan. 5	Henry Creighton ... Frances Stupart ...	..... Spinster ...	..... J. B. Smith. D. D. Brown.	Thos. Blanshard.
212	" 16	Thomas Surin ... Elizabeth Prickman (131).	Monthly writer ... Widow ...	P. Baptiste ... Pascal Surin.†	Ditto.
213	" 21	Archibald Thomson ... Sarah Sannell ...	Printer ... Spinster ...	J. Cooper ... Alex. Sannell. D. Thompson.	Ditto.
214	" 22	George Frederick Smith ... Mary de Rozario† ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	Jno. Bartlet ... John Frosser.	Ditto.
215	" 24	James Taylor (132) ... Elizabeth Emma Long (133).	..... Spinster ...	..... Sarah Areling ... F. Hearty.	John Owen.
216	" 27	Joseph Strassenberg ... Elizabeth Clario ...	Inhabitant	A. H. Cantopher ... Chas. Mackenzie.	Ditto.
217	" 28	Aaran Crossley Seymour. Maria Hogarth ...	..... Spinster ...	Wm. Dunkin ... W. — Tucker. Mary Skinner.	Ditto.
218	Feb. 6	John Frazer ... Francisca Diennst† ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	..... Cornelia Cooper. F. Golledge.	Thos. Blanshard.
219	" 16	Joseph Hodges (134) ... Sarah Adams ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	..... Nath. Bacon. M. B. Hudson.	Ditto.

(131) E. Prickman. For the first marriage. See *B. P. & P.*, Vol. VII, p. 170.

(132) James Taylor. Attorney to the H. E. I. C.

(133) E. E. Long, died 31st July, 1809, aged 35 years.

(134) J. Hodges. *Industry*, p. 34.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
220	1792. Feb. 19	James Lake ... Isabel Rozat† ...	Butcher ... Spinster ...	..... Ed. Palmer. Hannah De Cruz.†	Thos. Blanshard.
221	March 7	John Palling ... Anna Maria Graveley (135)	..... Spinster ...	..... M. Perreau. Phillip Hanington. R. S. Perreau. Jas. Frimhard.	Ditto.
222	" 19	James Cross ... Jane Brooks† ...	..... Widow ...	..... George Davis. John Baker.	David Brown.
223	" 20	John Miller ... Elizabeth Marshall ...	Ensign of Infantry, H. E. I. C. Widow ...	James Sutherland. Ann Sutherland.	Thos. Blanshard.
224	April 27	William Hodacy Marshall. Catherine Clark ...	..... Spinster ...	..... A. C. Seymour. Jas. Forbes.	Ditto.
225	May 1	William Moscrop (136) Sarah A. Avelling (137)	..... Spinster ...	..... H. Hart. J. P. Gardiner. [Name illegible]. F. K. Lind.	John Owen.
226	" 13	John Mathew† ... Mary Sylva† ...	A native, bachelor Spinster, a native {	J. B. Levesque ... R. Holler.	Thos. Blanshard.

(135) A. M. Graveley, died 25th April, 1794, aged 19.

(136) W. Moscrop, died 14th January, 1801, aged 44 years. B. O. p. 84.

(137) S. A. Avelling, died 12th January, 1796, aged 22 years.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1793.				
227	May 15	James Kennedy ...	Lieut., H. M. 19th Regiment of Dragoons.	.....	Thos. Blanshard.
		Lillis Frances Campbell	Spinster ...	Henry Trail. James Campbell.	
228	" 26	David Wilson ...	Inhabitant ...	.....	Ditto.
		Maria de Rosa† ...	Spinster ...	Ed. Palmer. John Green.	
229	" 29	Robert Udney (138) ...	.....	Thos. Blanshard...	John Owen
		Ann Brooks ...	Spinster ...	D. Brown.	
230	June 9	Samuel Jones ...	.....	.....
		Mary Ann Griffin ...	Spinster ...	J. Brittridge (139) Mary Brittridge.	Thos. Blanshard.
231	" 10	John Rich.† ...	Native Inhabitant	John Smith ...	Ditto.
		Caroline Moore.† ...	Spinster ...	John Laimua.	
232	" 23	Charles Child Wilson	Lieutenant of Infantry, H. E. I. C.	G. Leary ...	Ditto.
		Ann Green ...	Spinster ...	Edward Stretzell.	
233	" 24	John Green ...	Inhabitant ...	David Wilson ...	Ditto.
		Anna De Rosa.† ...	Spinster ...	Ed. Palmer.	
234	July 8	William Bedell ...	Lieutenant, H. E. I. C.	James Wordsworth	Ditto.
		Anne Young ...	Spinster ...	Edward Parry.	
235	" 10	George Elliot ...	Junior Merchant, H. E. I. C.	P. Hay ... E. Hay.	Ditto.
		Rachael Dunkin ...	Spinster ...	Wm. Dunkin.	

(138) Robert Udney and Ann his wife were drowned in crossing the Hugly river, 3rd November, 1794, he aged 31, and she 26. B. O., p. 79.

(139) J. Brittridge, the Engraver. B. O., p. 392.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
236	1792. July 17	George Henry Garden Jane Connor ...	Master Mariner ... Spinster ...	John Pitman ... Antho. Huder.	John Owen.
237	Aug. 11.	Robert Gibson ... Ann Woodin ...	Taylor ... Spinster ...	E. Wooden ... Wm. Ford.	Thos. Blanchard.
238	" 24	William Horatio Green Mary Neish ...	Lieut., Fireworker, H. E. I. C. Spinster ...	William Tomkins Margaret Ogilvy. Charlotte Dickson.	John Owen.
239	Sept. 23	James Hill ... Ann Rice.† ...	Pilot Service ... Widow ...	Edward Hill ... James Martin.	Ditto.
240	" 24	Francis Howley ... Elizabeth Williams ...	..... Spinster ...	..... Chas. Chapman. M. L. Chapman. G. Robinson.	Ditto.
241	" 27	John Nelley ... Charlotte Lindsay ...	Lieut., of Artillery, H. E. I. C. Spinster ...	Alex. Colvin. Robt. Chapman ... R. S. Perrau.	John Owen.
242	" 29	Henry Haldane ... Maria Helm ...	Captain, Royal En- gineers. Spinster ...	J——— Cornwallis ... John Haldane. R. Cogas. Richard Peires.	Ditto.
243	Oct. 13	John Baptist Levesque Primrose Mac' Innes...	..... Widow ...	R. Hoffer ... Mr. Barnfield.	Ditto.
244	" 16	James Cosmo Gordon (140) Christian Knox ...	Lieut., H.E.I.C. ... Spinster ...	Thos. Graham ... J. Kelvile.	Ditto.

(140) J. C. Gordon, born 13th August, 1756, died 31st December, 1792.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1792.				
245	Oct. 20	Domingo Hope ... Elizabeth,† ...	A Native Christian ... Ditto ...	William Smith ... Lewis Grant.	John Owen.
246	" 28	Joseph Alexander ... Anna Smith† ...	..... Spinster ...	Jacob Champ ... Francisco Silva.	Ditto.
247	Nov. 9	William Armstrong ... Harriet Hepburn ...	Senior Merchant, H. E. I. C. ... Spinster. ...	J. W. Hewitt ... A Clarke.	Ditto.
248	" 15	William Townshend ... Jones (141) ... Harriett Stevens ...	Attorney-at-Law ... Spinster ...	James Dunkin ... T. Brownrigg.	Thos. Blanshard.
249	" 16	William Hopper ... Margaret Quin ...	Lieut. of Artillery, H. E. I. C. ... Spinster ...	Henry Trail ... H. Cogan.	Ditto.
250	" 17	Lewis Ferdinand Smith ... Anna Mitchell ...	..... Spinster ...	William Terraneau ... Eliza Hedges.	Ditto.
251	" 24	Francis De Cruz † ... Sally De Roxario † ...	..... Spinster ...	Domingo Roxario,† ... Bysant Mathews †	Ditto.
252	" 25	James Moust ... Mary Sevenberg ...	Mate, Pilot Service ... Spinster ...	George Winter ... Charles Milla.	Ditto.
253	Dec. 2	Andrew Glass ... Harriett Wynox ...	Captain, Bengal Artillery. ... Spinster ...	A. Grant ... J. Thornhill.	Ditto.
254	" 10	Solomon Pyefinch ... Maria Johnson ...	..... Spinster ...	..... William Johnson. R. S. Perneau. Wm. Jackson.	Ditto.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1792.				
253	Dec. 15	William Henry Smith	Mariner ...	.....	Thos. Blanchard.
		Mary Bonner + ...	Widow ...	B. Dougan. Geo. Stephenson.	
256	" 17	John Macdonald (142)	Widower ...	Jas. Kennedy ...	D. Brown.
		Catherine Wilkins ...	Spinster ...	Henry Trail.	
258	" 30	Joseph Welsh ...	.....	.....	John Owen.
		Jesse Heatly (143) ...	Spinster ...	C. Lambert. Elizabeth Falls. Sarrah Bunny.	

(142) J. Macdonald, *B. & P.*, Vol. VIII.

(143) J. Heatly, died 30th May, 1823, aged 46 years, *B. O.*, p. 114.

The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell—XIV.

No. 516.

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQ.,

CALCUTTA,

The 25th November, 1776.

DEAR LEYCESTER,

I have received your letters of the 6th January, 14th February, 23rd and 25th March last. What you direct and may be necessary in your affairs here you may depend on being properly attended to. Beaumont's accounts with me which you desire may be reversed has been complied with and returned to you. I thank you for your assurances of attention to such affairs of mine as come under your management. I will not burden you much while I take the freedom to which our long friendship encourages me, for I shall not have any intricate concerns to occupy your time—the only one from which you can possibly be troubled is my claim on Captain G. Thompson and that I am in hopes will not subject you to any great difficulty in the adjustment as you have full authority to settle it in the way you shall judge best.

Long before this reaches you the question will be determined whether H. is or is not to continue in the Government as well as myself in the Council. Should it be decided against us the triumph of the faction by which we have been treated with so much disingenuity and want of candour will pain me more than the bare loss of my station, which you must know circumscribed as it is to be rather honorary than profitable. The demise of Colonel Monson (intelligence of which went by the *Syren* after her dispatches were closed) has given some intermission to the strange scene that has so long prevailed and enabled Mr. H. and myself to clear off a great part of the load of business that was before the Board. The Provincial Council's letters on the interests of their several districts which have scarcely ever been answered under the space of 6 or 8 months subsequent to their receipt have been for the first time since the new Government took place, answered to the present period. Although Clavering by demurrs, dissents and protests has been thrown every obstacle he could devise to impede the currency of the public business, Mr. Francis has been more moderate and has rather assisted than obstructed the dispatch of Business. The expiration of the

leases which approach fast, obliges the Government to look forward to a future settlement of the revenue. Much has been said on this topic by the Governor, Mr. Francis and myself. I shall send the papers to my sister where you may peruse them, for to abstract them is impossible unless I make my letter a volume. The Governor and myself are for rating the lands by the most accurate accounts we can procure and fencing the Ryott against all arbitrary cesses which may be attempted by the zemindar. Mr. Francis is for proceeding summarily. His general principles are just, but unless the Riott is protected and secured, the country will not be relieved, as the lightness of the tax paid to Government will only enrich the zemindars without benefiting the commonalty. Nothing material besides has occurred in the internal Government unless the replacing the Phowdsar of Hughly and the Dewan of the Calcutta Zillah and Paishcar of the Khalsah may be termed so. These men were turned out by the Majority because they would not vilify the Governor, and the Governor has now restored them—he has likewise restored Mr. Cowper who was superseded by the incendiary James Grant to his station and has ordered James Grant to act in his former capacity of assistant. These though very moderate acts of justice to people who were highly injured will I dare say, be stiled oppressive and factious and sacrifices of the public interest to the gratification of personal pique and resentment.

No. 517.

MRS. MARY BARWELL,

CALCUTTA,

The 25th November, 1776.

MY DEAR SISTER,

Mr. Miller filled with gratitude for the favour he has received at your hands pressed me extremely to allow of his making you some acknowledgment for the obligation he lays under—his wish in this particular was urged with so much importunity that I could not decline a compliance with it, and in consequence promised, him I would not only present you with some jewell in his name to the value of two hundred pounds, but that I would insist with you upon the acceptance of it. This is the point he alludes to in his short note, so that you will please to charge the sum in my account to your benefit and upon your reply to him through me I will receive the same sum of him here—this is not meant in exclusion of any expence you may have incurred but superadded.

[Private.]

No. 518.

JOHN ROBINSON, ESQ.,

CALCUTTA,

The 25th November, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

In my letter of September last I told you I was almost determined upon leaving Bengal, my health and situation being inducements equally strong to influence such a step, but an alteration in the latter from the unexpected death of Colonel Monson with the urgent instances of the Governor-General has inclined me to forego that design to afford him my assistance and support in the important and interesting business that is now under contemplation, the settlement of the revenues which must take place at the expiration of the 5 years' leases in April next. To leave the country at a crisis so critical I have considered might be, with just reason, imputed to motives improper to influence my conduct and impeach me of a neglect or disregard to those duties which by a change in the circumstances of the Government have fallen to my share. At a time when I could not act, a retreat might be made from a regard to personal ease and health, without my incurring reproach by such a step that time past and myself in a different predicament, I have no longer the same latitude of choice. However let me assure you, and through you my Lord North, that as I never had nor ever shall have any other object than the service of my country by continuing in my station, all my attention will be given to that one object and in the mode in which it may prove most agreeable to the ruling power to direct. It is not my province to judge what measures Government shall adopt but to render my services in the line in which they can be useful and promotive of the views to be accomplished. I need not tell you I shall feel an obligation from your confidential communications and for such a favourable construction of the part I act as may insure me the countenance of your powerful friends.

Not long after I had written to you my former letter, an occasion happily offered to place Mr. Wordsworth in a station in the commercial line from which he will draw about £stg. 150 in addition to the salary and allowances he enjoys in common with the other servants of the Company. I seized this first opportunity to give him some little matter to enable him to bear the expence he must necessarily incur. It is a mere temporary expedient to support him without his being impelled to contract debts and, I flatter myself, will be sufficient to that end more especially as I have lodged him in my family and he is subjected simply to personal expence, until an opportunity presents (which must soon be the case) of which I can avail myself to remove him to the Revenue Establishment and fix him in a more eligible situation.

No. 519.

HENRY SAVAGE, ESQ.,

CALCUTTA,

The 27th November. 1776.

DEAR SIR,

Discouraged by the prospect before me, presented by a Faction and with my health much impaired, I had in contemplation a retreat from scenes painful to my feeling and destructive of my quiet, when an accident not looked for (the demise of Colonel Monson) with the pressing instances of the Governor for my stay determined me to hold my station and give him my assistance in the present important crisis. Without support in the arduous and interesting object to which his attention is now given, the new settlement of the Revenues, which is to take place in April next, all his endeavours must have proved ineffectual, and even with my support it does not by any means appear to me certain he will be insured success in his undertaking. As General Clavering and Mr. Francis are averse and oppose and counteract him to the utmost of their power and influence. Without inquiring, without investigating the state of the lands, these gentlemen are at once for making a material reduction in the Company's Revenue and of throwing the collections without check or restraint in the hands of the zemindars upon the simple plea of the lands being overrated and the policy of drawing no more from the country than may barely suffice to support the establishment and send home an investment of 60 lacks. The Governor and myself subscribe to the opinion that some reduction may be necessary to secure the permanency of the future revenue, but contend that unless the lands are equitably rated and the taxes equally paid and the rights of the cultivator of the soil fenced and secured against the encroachments of the zemindar, such a measure can be productive of no good, but fraught with consequences equally pernicious to the Company's interest and to the prosperity of the provinces, because we deny that the country will be eased by the moderation of Government in a light assessment of the zemindars, if the zemindars themselves are not effectually checked and controlled in the rates at which they may assess the cultivator of the soil, that, unless this is done, the taxes levied on the husbandman will be as burdensome as ever and continue to be exacted with as much rigor—with this difference only that instead of going into the public treasury the surplus will be diverted to enrich the zemindars. That the idea of relief to the industrious poor being necessarily continued with lowering the assessments on the zemindars is a mistaken speculation. A personal and too powerful interest operates to influence them to draw the utmost from their tenants, and such is the state of landed property through the whole peninsula of India that to expect the zemindars to relinquish voluntarily any of the established taxes

however grievous, would be to hope that which experience, knowledge and observation contradict. The first measure, therefore, was to rate the lands if practicable—the next to form such restrictive rules as in their operation should give security to all ranks of men and preserving the necessary dependance of all orders in a progressive gradation to the meanest classes of the people, fence the rights of each from encroachment. Difficult as this task must prove, yet unless it was undertaken and effected, it would be vain to look for the happy consequences professed in Mr. Francis's speculations. As the condition of the laboring part of the kingdom would remain in the same state, whatever revenue might be drawn by the Company, the great object therefore was to amend their condition, and this must be done by means more adequate than simply subjecting the people to the will and caprice of their Zemindars, whom Mr. Francis proposes to invest with all power upon the loose principle that both policy and interest must bind them to a just and moderate conduct in the management of their own estates. This though just in theory, the history of every nation tells us is not to be found in practice. Review the different states of the world from the prince to the lord of a single acre, and will the prospect warrant his conclusion. With the power of doing injuries, will every man or the generality of men be just? Sure it would be weakness to argue that depravity is gone from human nature because it is the interest and happiness of man not to be depraved. But after all if the task proposed is so very difficult and the obstructions Faction may throw in its way so insuperable that it cannot be executed, the easy flowery path Mr. Francis has chosen and is supported in by General Clavering, may at any time be reverted to, for the proposition he makes goes no further than simply a retrenchment of the Company's income upon speculation of its proving ultimately a relief to the country. A thousand arguments occur to expose the futility of such reveries—these I suppress as I know they must naturally arise to your mind whenever you may be pleased to give the subject a serious consideration.

No. 520.

MRS. MARY BARWELL,

CALCUTTA,

The 27th November, 1776.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I enclose letters for Mr. Robinson and Mr. Savage and particularly for the information of the latter, the several papers under cover. You will perceive by a Minute of the Governor, with what unremitting perseverance the old gentleman Clavering attempts to distract and perplex all publick

business. The most unexceptionable acts in the common routine of affairs, nay even those which merit praise, are to him subjects of controversy and perverted to charges against the Governor, and, I believe, there are not less than three or four score of dissents and protests upon such points as those I have given myself the trouble to answer and upon as bad and false grounds. —It seems to matter not to him what he says, for determined at all events to find fault, he gives the most specious turn he can to his aspersions, and is not ever solicitous in adhering to truth in any of his writings, wherever he conceives an artifice or subtlety that may avail him to represent in false lights the most simple transactions. Let his conduct be impartially examined, and if this picture is found to do him injustice, I will submit to the most degrading acknowledgment for the injurious opinion I entertain of his motive and principle of conduct. Mr. Francis is more guarded and more circumspect, and this flattered me for some time past, since the party was broke by the death of Colonel Monson, he would not persist in the systematic opposition in which he had been engaged—but I was mistaken. A deeper policy regulates his conduct than I immediately perceived, for on inspecting his opinions, I find in all matters to which he has acquiesced, he has pointedly fixt the responsibility on the Governor, etc., and under the pretext of consistency in all points on which he says he has committed himself, he uniformly opposes—So artful, no small degree of caution is necessary to penetrate the veil his actions wear and that his principle may not be mistaken where he is found in opposition—the unwearied observer should be prepared to mark it with distrust and to canvas it with a critical nicety, or he may be deceived.

The distractions on the Coast of Coromandell which have so far exceeded our *little* disputes—by the latest advices—assume a portentous aspect, but whether the apprehensions expressed by that Government of Lord Pigot's endeavours to involve the Carnatic in a civil war is founded in fact, I cannot pretend to determine. His residence on the Coast after his expulsion from the chair it is most certain can answer no purpose but to distract and disturb the Government. The gentlemen of Madras have desired our opinion about sending His Lordship to Europe. We have replied the necessity of such a measure can alone be determined by the circumstances under which it may be resolved—that our Government cannot authorise such an act, nor advise in a matter in which theirs is competent and must be solely responsible—the peace and good order of their internal Government resting entirely in themselves, and totally independent of our powers—but should disturbances arise and a war be kindled to subvert the constitution of their Government as established by Charter, the most effectual aid will be afforded in support and preservation of the Government legally constituted,—that, however, it depends on themselves to obviate the mischiefs they dread and adopt and

execute what in their judgment may be essential for the prevention of an evil of such magnitude.

I know not on whom the Company will fix the blame of these extraordinary scenes; they certainly had their rise from the imperious spirit of Pigot, unregulated by those conciliating arts which under different circumstances are necessary, and without which no man (whatever else his talents may be) is fit to be at the head of a free Government—unmindful of the circumstances of the times and not distinguishing between his former sway when common dangers influenced cheerful acquiescence to a military despotic rule—and the situation of the Carnatic upon his return to it. He is fallen the victim of his own imprudence. Pity we may his fate, but can we acquit him of the indiscretion that produced it? Be not alarmed at this or any other intelligence from the East in so great a degree as to be induced to sell out of the India stocks at a loss. The Company's pecuniary health is good, though their political health may be diseased. You will hear from all quarters of the troops sent out by France. In the course of this year the private adventurers who all sailed their ships with English money, all brought out some military to the Islands and Pondicherry, and the French ships now in this River number 2,500 Europeans under the denomination of sailors, and these people are actually at Chandernagore as are all their ships, but the number of sail I do not recollect. The military establishment at Pondicherry is very much increased, and I think from appearances the French meditate some blow on the Carnatic. Why not against Bengal? A thousand difficulties almost insuperable oppose them here—there they have a place of arms, can collect their force by degrees—here they must bring every thing and at once by shipping subjected to almost the same obstructions to fix themselves as an invader who has no establishment in the country.

No. 521.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

CALCUTTA,

The December 1776.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I did not write over-land in the persuasion that letters would be as speedily and more safely conveyed to you by the Company's packets, besides as the Governor's dispatches will, of course, be submitted to you the deficiency on my part was not material. I gave to Mr. Cobham and Lieutenant Metcalfe, two of the gentlemen who take the rout of Egypt, letters to you merely introductory. I note this circumstance that you may not be led to conceive yourself bound by those letters to acts of kindness subjecting you

to the least difficulty; if it falls in your way to promote the views of either without laying yourself under obligation, it is all I propose, for you will probably find them disposed if they can be useful to assist me in their limited line of life, and such dispositions ought in prudence to be cherished.

The reliance I have on your address and confidence in your management is such that I rest my success implicitly on your prudence and repeat my injunction to you to make such use of my fortune as may in your opinion be conducive to my prosperity. It is superfluous to say more to you on this subject: you have full latitude to act in the manner your own discretion dictates. Be assured that I shall be satisfied with whatever you may do in prosecuting my views. A proper application of little presents pleasing in a degree expressive of the attention of the presenter has often given a surprising influence to those who have taken such means to interest people of consequence and sway in the Government, and must I apprehend still avail if they are not of that magnitude as to give impressions of a wrong nature, for the whole act of doing such things is comprized in two words *delicacy* and *manner*, and who is there that is not susceptible of acts of esteem and respect? In this idea and in an opinion that you may be too good a steward to risk a little of my fortune on so precarious an experiment, I repeat what I have before urged on this subject, and that you may be confident of my full approbation. I have dwelt thus long on a matter which fewer words under different circumstances would have sufficed to recommend to you. The filling up the vacancy in the Superior Council if I am allowed to continue a member of it, is an object of some importance to me exclusive of the notion generally entertained that a person is degraded who on such an occasion has another placed above him. Be therefore attentive to this point and keep in your mind that to my friend Fred. Stuart alone I can yield my pretension. My attachment to him and the propriety of my Lord Bute's placing his son in the Council above me will reconcile me to the measure, but I know no one else under whom I could act without regret. Small as my hope is of succeeding Hastings, the very ill state of General Clavering's health renders me solicitous to step up as near to him as possible. I really think the General's life very precarious, and should the climate be as unfavourable to him as it has proved this season, I should stand in the most eligible situation my most sanguine wishes could place me in under the Government, and, although the difficulty would be unsurmountable of obtaining an appointment from England, yet if I was in the chair, all circumstances considered the possession of it might be confirmed to me, and the Minister, whoever he might be, pleased with having me there.

The prosperous state of the Company in Bengal will not, I hope, be fatal to Mr. Hastings and myself. Yet it is a common policy to forget services

when the immediate occasion on which they benefitted the State is past, and I confess I am fearful the prosperity of the Company may be an argument that our further services are not wanted nor are necessary. However, this may be, the political interests of the British Governments in Asia must be regulated by local knowledge and experience, but whether Ministry will chuse to avail himself of that local knowledge is a question I cannot pretend to answer to myself, for under many circumstances, I am sensible particular people must be gratified, and in those cases every other consideration will yield to the influence of superior family connections.

Twenty months ago General Clavering, etc., declared the Company on the brink of ruin, and an exhausted treasury an immense debt and a decreasing revenue were incessantly declaimed upon. Nor was this imposition given up at the dispatch of the *Syren* packet, for in the advices by that vessel the General attempted to pervert facts and impress an idea that the wealth of the Company in Bengal was all imaginary—a fallacy I took the trouble to expose at the time, and it is now rendered so glaring as to be beyond the power of art to vindicate or palliate the misrepresentation then attempted. For the Company have at this moment in their Treasury at Calcutta about 60 lacks of rupees and have paid off all their bonded debt to about 10 lacks and in the Treasuries of the Provincial Councils there is upwards of 40 lacks more, so that after paying all their debts *they* have a ballance in cash of a million sterling and in goods such as woollen, salt and opium half a million more. An estate this instant in hand of one million and half exclusive of all their dead stock. This being the real state of facts which sophistry can neither involve nor question, the cry is changed from ruin in the apprehended bankruptcy of the Company, to ruin from the superfluity of their wealth. The country is ruined and the treasure locked up has exhausted the circulating specie—thus direct contradictions afford argument to condemn Mr. H. and myself. Yet when we propose to throw the specie back into circulation, encourage manufactures, and increase the investments for Europe, we are opposed upon the principle of its being subversive of the foreign trade—as if it was not one of the first and great objects of the nation to out purchase the Dutch, French, &c., rivals of the Company and render Britain the great Emporium for the vend of Bengal goods. The notion that bullion is introduced by the rival Companies of France, Holland and Denmark is ridiculous and absurd—they are one and all the carriers for the English, and will continue so while there remains a single lac of private property in this country waiting only for an opportunity of remittance, but should the Dutch, French, &c., be once out purchased by us, and have no inducement to continue their competition in the Bengal trade, private property here will find its way in different channels to the other

Presidencies and to China, where it will both aid and assist the Company—whereas it now operates essentially against their interests—particularly by promoting the French Commerce and with it a naval power that could by no other means be supported in the East, without subjecting the Crown of France to an expence enormous and intolerable—whereas we have this last year seen introduced by French adventurers a formidable fleet and 3,000 recruits at least and this with a very trifling charge to that Crown. In these sentiments should Mr. H and myself have sway in the Council, we propose after laying by 35 lacks for exigencies to increase the investment for Europe to the utmost and enlarge the supplies to Bombay, and agreeably to this plan we have voted the investment of next year 105 lacks of rupees.

The distracted state of the Madras Government will possibly render some pecuniary aid from Bengal necessary; I wish this may not be the case for I know not in what manner Madras can be supplied without sending specie. The political state of the Indian powers remains the same except on the coast of Coromandell, which is much weakend by the separation of Tanjore and the distresses consequent to that measure from the inability of the Nabob to pay his troops. Late private advices inform us that one of the choicest bodies of horse in the Nabob's service on the plea of arrears, have gone off to the Mysore country and joined Hyderally. This the Nabob's enemies impute to contrivance and to the influence of some secret practices he has in foot with Hyder to shake off his dependence on the English Government. It is most true that Lord Pigot's measures have given him ample cause for dissatisfaction, but it would be injurious both to the Nabob's good sense and policy to suppose such an imputation just. The Nabob is fully aware of the enterprizing spirit of the Mysore Chief, his own defenceless state if unsupported by the English, and likewise of Hyder's having obtained by treaty with the Mahratta state of grant of the Carnatic. Under these circumstances is it consistent with reason to imagine he would lay himself at the mercy of Hyder—and this after the severe test to which his patience has been put in the Tanjore business and in the various mortifications he has suffered in the period of a few months? Sure if any such thoughts had influenced his policy it would have been adopted at the instant he was struggling with his feeling and under such complicated mortifications as he has experienced, and not in his cooler moments and after he had made his appeal to the justice of the English Government for redress. Had he ever framed such a design, it would be a folly to suppose he would have weakend his power first by parting with Tanjore and then opposed himself to the English Government. I have no correspondence or acquaintance with the Nabob; of course my judgment is unbiased by favor or prejudice and formed simply on the facts which have arisen in his Government, and these carry no appearance of his alienation from the English interest.

Enclosed I send you a minute and motion in favor of Mr. Croftes our Accountant-General. The importance of the office rendered it necessary to annex to it an adequate salary, and as it appeared to me to be the wish of the Directors that something should be done for Mr. Croftes whose merit and services entitle him to the consideration of the Company, I was less scrupulous in laying his pretensions before the Board and of securing to him some compensation for his past and future laborious services. This matter being particularly pointed out in the General Letter to have originated with me, I desired Mr. Croftes to write his friends to secure an approbation from the Court of Directors: this he will naturally do and recommend to his friends who have some weight to draw with you in any thing that may be proposed for my advantage.

Mr. Mackenzie who was recommended to me by yourself, by F. Stuart, Lords Sandwich and Rochford, I have the pleasure to inform you, has been by the Governor and myself gratified with the appointment of Custom Master, and Mr. Bathurst, Lord Apsley's relation, with an appointment under Mr. Middleton to the Court of Asoph-ul-Doula. Captain Primrose Thompson, particularly introduced to me by letter from Governor Johnstone, to the post of Quarter Master General of the troops commanded by British officers in the service of the Nabob of Oude. As I have not written to Governor Johnstone, please make my compliments to him and tell him I am happy to have had it so early in my power to shew the sense I have of his friendship and support, and that he may depend my attention to Captain Thompson will be unremitted under all circumstances.

No. 522.

TO MRS MARY BARWELL.

CALCUTTA,

The 12th February, 1777.

MY DEAR SISTER,

Just after closing my letter in December 1776, I got my brother Daniel the appointment of Assistant to the Resident at Benares. His low rank in the Company's Service, his unacquaintance with all publick business, his youth and inexperience determined me to check my wishes and content myself with introducing him to a secure [station] that would prepare and fit him for the discharge of greater trusts in the more important stations of the service; for as he had hitherto been employed in no publick line, exception would justly have been taken to a brother's partiality had I placed him in so conspicuous a point of view, that the whole Service had looked up to him with envy and impatience. Besides this reason, I found the Governor so desirous

of making some return to Mr. Graham whose conduct in England merited from us both, that I became as anxious as himself to testify the sense we entertained of it by some act of kindness to his brother Mr. Thomas Graham. Daniel is not satisfied with holding the second station, because he says by my influence he could have had the first, for under the present circumstances he remarked it was not to have been denied to me had I urged it for him to the Governor. To this I answered, he ought to be sensible fraternal affection must be a strong and powerful advocate for him with me, and that he might safely rely on a principle that must render me extremely anxious for his welfare. I then bid him to recollect this was his very first step into life, that he had hitherto declined attendance on any of the public offices and totally unqualified by ignorance of all forms of business. How could I at once propose him for so important a public charge as that given to Mr. Graham? A third of the advantages of the Residency I had secured for him, and hereafter I hoped to answer his highest expectations in some other appointment. It was necessary however that he should qualify himself to second my endeavours or nothing could result from them, for, though I gave him the means to make his way to independence, the advantage he might make of those means would depend entirely on his own knowledge and abilities. I cannot say this expostulation had so full an effect as I had flattered myself it would have. He appeared disappointed, but this advantage, I think, will derive from it, it will make him exert himself and employ those talents hitherto lost in dissipation to this proper object. The best parts possessed by a man who is to fabricate his own fortunes are defective if he bends them not to those pursuits in life on which his prosperity depends.

By the vessels just arrived from China, I have reason to apprehend a disappointment to you in the receipt of Mercer's bond, for I understood he has failed in the means of supplying the cash from which his Attorneys were to pay it. as I before wrote so expressly that any protested bills or others securities not answered should be immediately returned to enable me to recover on them in Bengal. I flatter myself no sooner will Mercer's bond become due than payment will have been demanded, and, if refused, that the protest and bonds will have been sent back by the first opportunity. I had much dependance on this man, but frequent disappointments have instilled doubts that influence me to take the best means I can to secure myself in this country without relying upon him any further for the payment of his engagements in England. Besides I consider the terms of remittance are not more advantageous than I may hereafter procure and that the interest and penalty to be recovered from Mr. Mercer will be some compensation for my disappointment. Neither Price's nor Mercer's money coming into your hands deprives me of a large sum I had relied upon in England. This with my deeds

of gift to you and Fanny lower of course very considerably the fortune I hoped I had realised by this time in Europe, and makes me more anxious about Sir George Colebrooke's securities than otherwise should have been. Do then, my dear Friend, be a little alert inclosing our concerns with Sir George, for should I have drawbacks on my fortune after I leave this country, my not having reckoned upon them will pinch me in the degree they were not expected.

I enclose a letter from my friend, Charles Purling, and my answer to it. After 5 months and just as the Chiefship of Dacca was on the point of being vacated for him and the intimation given to Mr. Rous that he must quit, I was surprized with this letter. I hope, however, Charles Purling will have no reason to lament his varying his pursuit, though I much doubt whether he will find the object he looks to, when he shall obtain it to compensate him for the sacrifice now made to his fears. As I apprehend it will not be in my power to write to his uncle. Pray explain these particulars to him. I did all in my power to fix the Governor and secure Dacca for his nephew. The point was accomplished, he saw the propriety of standing to his first nomination and answering the expectations of Purling's friends, who had bestirred themselves in establishing that nomination against Mr. Rous put in by the then Majority in Bengal over the head of Purling. Rous had been spoken to, and had sent orders for transporting his household furniture from Dacca in the expectation of an immediate recall, when on the instant this letter of Charles Purling arrives and determines the Governor to retract and not proceed in a measure which would have given great offence to Rous's friends and appeared not very acceptable to the person who was to have been served by it.

The instructions I gave respecting the purchase of India stock has I hope not been neglected, for as the accounts from hence will so far exceed the most sanguine expectations, so must the profits on such purchases any idea you could have entertained of them. The enclosed amount is simply to exhibit to you the wealth in our different treasuries. No less a sum than fourteen millions eight hundred thousand rupees in specie, exclusive of this is the salt, opium, woollens, copper, &c., amounting to about five millions—Such a vast mass of riches in *actual possession* in Bengal, must confound all the abominable falsifications that have been industriously propagated, and render all classes of men more cautious in believing the tales of a Faction and doubting the veracity of men who never yet deceived the public in their representations. The vast excess of the Company's present wealth beyond my estimate I have not yet had time to examine into, and therefore cannot ascertain the causes it springs from, but imagine I must have rated

the Company's expences higher than they are in reality and their income lower.

*Extract of a letter from MR. CHARLES PURLING to MR. BARWELL,
dated Dacca, the 3rd February 1777.*

I doubt not when you received the Governor's note mentioned in your letter, you were acquainted with the cause of it or have been since. I am far from declining any promotion your or the Governor's kindness may extend me, but judging that if I am to profit by it, it will be necessary to contrive my appointment so as to be permanent, and that whether I remain here Chief or Acting Chief till you get the expected intelligence from Europe, it can make no difference to my friends, though it may be a very considerable one to me. I did not hesitate to write to Mr. Hastings concerning the Chittagong Chiefship. Your own reason must dictate that my choice (if I was not afraid of an after-blow) would be fixed upon Dacca, particularly because Chittagong would not be very agreeable to me without an assistant of my own. But as Mr. Law may not be removed long before your packet arrives give me leave to request the favor of you to endeavor to keep both Chittagong and Dacca unfilled up, and when you act advices, fix upon Chittagong and Dacca as may be most likely to turn out to a real and lasting benefit instead of a temporary one—for you cannot suppose that Rous will not be immediately reinstated. If Ministerial influence should operate to your and the Governor's disadvantage, an event my own wishes and interests naturally lead me to deprecate. Chittagong however I scarce think even the General will remove me from. This is all that has struck me upon the subject, and I hope you will forgive a fear concerning my future interests; believe me, were I at all independent, one of the greatest objects I could have would be to quit India when you did, and I should not hesitate an instant about taking the Dacca Chiefship. Rous has written to Holland, that the appointments would take place in a day or two and begging he would send down all his things; a letter arrived last night directed to me Chief of Dacca from Mr. Collings, and all the settlement have been to congratulate me on my appointment. If it should still be your idea that all the appointments cannot take place and that Rous cannot be removed nor I continue here Acting Chief till the Ameen shall have completed his business, I wish you to pursue your own opinion and I am ready to accompany you to old England if any thing sinister happens. I have given you the motives for my request to the Governor—act as you and he think proper.

*Extract of a letter from MR. BARWELL TO CHARLES PURLING, ESQ.,
dated Calcutta, the 7th February 1777.*

Your letter which I have submitted to the Governor must I think, determine him with respect to Rous. Indeed he told me he should send for him this morning and inform him that as you looked another way he was no longer under the obligation of his former nomination of you to the Chiefship and to which he had before hinted to him he must give place. To keep the door open for you in the manner you wanted, or in any manner was impracticable without incurring the same ill will from Mr. Rous's friends as by an actual removal of him—for it being declared he must give place to you, it follows that without revoking such declaration he must have deemed himself in fact removed and under that impression have influenced his friends. The counter declaration therefore was unavoidable, though if no declaration of his removal had been made, you might have continued and the matter been subsequently taken up in your favor. But as it is you reduced the Governor and myself to this simple alternative—to step forward in a thing you yourself could not resolve upon and seemed rather apprehensive of—or to step back—and make a merit both to ourselves and to you of not being hostile to Rous, though in the circumstances you stood and we conceived ourselves bound to promote you and remove him, if you had not offered the alternative by looking another way (to Chittagong) and enabled us to convince him we were by no means ill disposed to him. I need not tell you I am chagrined at that indcision in you which has reduced you to confine your future views to Chittigong for it is probable Law may not these many months be called to the Board of Trade all which time you must remain in expectation, and before the period arrives your friends may be out of power, though that I do not apprehend will be the case, but it is possible.

No. 523.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

CALCUTTA,

The 14th February, 1776.

MY DEAR SISTER,

Allow me to introduce to your acquaintance Mr. Isaac Sage a gentleman who has been long known to me and for whom I have a personal esteem—and at the same time to express a wish (which I found on the general opinion of Mrs. Sage's happy qualities, and the particular friendship the worthy Mr. James Barton entertains for her) that you may cultivate her acquaintance and become mutually endeared to each other. I am not myself

happy in her acquaintance owing to her having scarcely resided at all in Calcutta and to my engagements which have only allowed of my calling at her house twice, neither of which times I had the pleasure to find her at home. Sage will send my letter to you by express from the first port at which the ship arrives.

No. 524.

TO HENRY SAVAGE, ESQ.

CALCUTTA,

The 11th February, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

I mentioned to you in my former letters an attempt to impose on the Company and the public by a false state of your treasuries and assets in Bengal, and at the same time sent you a just estimate of the real wealth of that Government, and an estimate of the ballance that would be in hand the 10th April 1777, calculated at twenty four millions, nine hundred and eight thousand, eight hundred and sixty-nine rupees. The enclosed account from authentic official papers shew that on the 6th of this month February 1777, the Company's nett estate, not including any part of their dead stock, amounted to twenty-two millions three hundred and forty-eight thousand and ten rupees fifteen annas and nine pice. A monstrous mass of riches, especially when it is considered that fifteen millions two hundred and nine thousand one hundred and sixty rupees twelve annas and six pice of this heap, may be said to be actual specie, *viz.* :—

	Rs.	A.	P.
Provincial Treasuries	43,37,750	12	6
Calcutta General and Revenue Treasuries	82,58,441	11	9
Bills of Exchange accepted by different Bankers the same as money in hand	7,67,570	1	3
	90,26,011	13	0
	1,33,63,762	9	6
Ballance of cash in the hands of the Resident of Oude, the 17th January 1777. Oude siccas 3 lacs or current rupees. (<i>N.B.</i> —This not included in the Treasuries account but taken from the Resident's letters of advice)	3,30,000	0	0
Commercial Treasuries	15,15,398	3	0
In specie or bullion nett amount 6th February 1777	1,52,09,160	12	6

Thus circumstanced it remains no longer in the power of faction to veil the truth, as all doubts hitherto expressed of the fairness of the calculations sent home by Mr. Hastings and myself, are now at an end. You see and know that you actually possess at this instant the full amount and more than we gave you reason to expect would be forthcoming at this period, and having established the credit of our representations on this important point, it will, I flatter myself, caution the impartial to be more circumspect in their belief, and to deny their assent to the idle stories invented and promulgated to impose on the public, without the fullest and clearest evidence of facts to support and authenticate such stories. Assured that men who had the confidence and effrontery to aver this Government to be in an actual state of bankruptcy at the time it was sending to Europe investments of 80 lacs per annum, paying off all its debts and rising fast to its present state of affluence, will not scruple the same insidious arts, in less material concerns, to depreciate their adversaries and lower their characters in the public estimation.

The large sum now in possession, and the increasing wealth of this Government call loudly upon the Directors to adopt some measures to realize their property in England, and as they cannot discredit the evidence of their own senses, the necessity of increasing the tonnage to be returned from this port will be obvious. Mr. Hastings and myself have hitherto limited the investment to the amount we supposed you would have shipping to transport, but this year we have supplied one crore five lacs for goods in expectation, that finding more credit with you for the representations we had made, you would increase the number of your ships—depending on an increase of your investments as a consequence of your increasing wealth. Should you still disappoint us, I know not by what means we shall be able to return back the money into circulation. It will be death to the country to accumulate a mass of useless treasure. And the hoarding it, or sending it out of the country, is nearly the same, for what does not circulate is as much lost as if it did not exist. In short I would recommend to you to send peremptory orders to increase your provision of goods to 120 lacs, and sooner than keep a larger sum than 70 lacs of exigencies, direct an additional provision of 20 lacs of ready money goods, and in order to obviate any chicane in such purchases, instruct your Board of Trade to publish your intention of making them, directing the merchants who have goods to offer, to deliver in their proposals sealed with musters of the goods they are inclined to dispose of, and further, instruct your Board to put their seals to the musters by which the purchases are made, accompanying the parcells with the musters, by which they are bought, that you yourselves may be the Judges whether favor or partiality has been shown to the vendors

by the acceptance of goods inferior to the samples on which they were agreed, for it will possibly be urged that the extension of your investments must prove detrimental to the commercial interests of the country, by your engrossing all the manufactures of it. People who reason in this manner, have very false ideas of the nature of manufactures, which increase in all nations in proportions to the demand they are in and the encouragements the arts receive. It is an absurd and ridiculous notion to say, it will not do so far be assured, and you will find it a truth, that the more goods you export, the more will be fabricated, and that the people are not so blind to their own interests, as to neglect their looms, because they find a readier vend for their labors. This addition of 60 lacs to your Bengal investment, will not however return as much specie as ought to be returned to the circulation, and therefore in addition to it, your orders of supply to Bombay and Bencoolen ought to be enlarged, and contracts for cotton and other goods tin, &c., to supply China, be recommended to your servants at Bombay and here. By this means your Malabar and Surat Trades will revive and the adventurers to the Straights of Malacca from this Port encouraged, as in the Straights alone, tin is to be procured for China. But if the remittances to Bombay cannot be increased without sending bullion, an attention to the prosperity of Bengal requires those remittances not to be increased by these means, in addition to the wealth you have annually drawn from Bengal I propose 90 lacs of rupees, *vis.* :—

	Lacs.
The addition to the Bengal investment ...	60
Addition to the Bombay and Bencoolen supplies ...	30
	—
Total ...	90
	—

Imagine not on a superficial review this is beyond all bounds, and what can never be made good from hence—look only into your affairs, and you will find from October 1774 to February 1777 two years three months. The Bond debt, Restitution, &c., debts amounting at the least to one crore and half of rupees, have been extinguished—Bombay doubly supplied—80 lacs annually sent home—and after all a ballance at this instant in hand of two crore twenty three lacs of rupees. I will now only ask if these facts are established beyond a possibility of cavil—if they are, the ability of this Government to supply 90 lacs in addition to what was supplied the last year cannot be doubted, and after laying by 70 lacs for exigencies, still have it in its power to lower the rents of lands, and ease the burthens of the people,

in the degree that may be necessary to the prosperity of the country. I desire you and the world to give me no more credit for these assertions, than may be clear and evident to your own senses, on an inspection of the authentic accounts and records of the India house, and I will engage myself to answer to the full of what I affirm any future day if I should be called into a station that may render it incumbent on me.

You may recollect my being singular in the opinion I gave on the military establishment proposed for the Nabob Asoph-ul-Dowla, *viz.*—that the troops and officers should be ours, but in the pay of the Nabob, and that any other system was fraught with variety of evils. The justness of this opinion is too well verified by the subsequent scenes of tumult, confusion and rapacity. The introduction of the General's plan as might be foreseen raised a general spirit of discontent and mutiny. How could it be expected that men, who had been accustomed to command the Nabob's forces, would readily acquiesce to a deprivation of their commands, and continue with their troops without forming some scheme and engaging in some intrigues to recover those commands? Not a little blood has been spilt to suppress this spirit. Yet all was to no effect, till the refractory battalions were reformed and new ones raised. However, even in the present state of this Force under British officers, submission to discipline is extremely defective. The looseness of the General's plan in all its parts—the leaving the charges of the troops at large to be regulated by the Nabob, Captain Webber and Mr. Bristow, can only be reconciled to reason on a supposition that he extended it as a particular harvest for Webber—a parasite, with [neither] abilities, [n]or a single good quality to recommend him, for I reckon not a servile obsequious, in the number of virtues that reflect lustre on the human character. This man from his first appointment by the General to the period the command was given to Colonel Goddard, drew seven thousand rupees in monthly allowances, exclusive of the perquisites of his command, which he regulated upon the plan of the Governor-General's troop of cavalry in Calcutta. This troop has always been on an establishment, by the purchase and feeding of the horses, to be a provision for the commandant of it, and to enable him at the end of two or three years, to retire with a small competency—it consists of 100 horse in number. The Regiment Captain Webber has put on this footing he has made 730 strong, he has commanded it two years, and has of course drawn perquisites annually to 730 times the amount of the Governor's Body Guard. Now if the Body Guard of 100 men, as I suppose it does, gives 40,000 rupees per annum to the Commandant, Captain Webber for his Regiment received a benefit of 2,92,000 rupees per annum or 6 lacs to the present instant, exclusive of his 7,000 rupees per mensem, as Brevet Major, Adjutant General, Aid-de-Camp, etc., etc. Clavering, I know, will defend this mulcting

of the Nabob, by the precedent of the Governor-General's Body Guard establishment, but when it is considered, that Mr. Webber had 7,000 rupees per month pay and allowances, and that the raising, disciplining and regulating the expence of the horse for the Nabob's service was confided to him, his rapacity in rejecting the most economic establishment to introduce an extravagant one for his own advantage, will condemn him. Nor will the plea of precedent avail Clavering in excuse for his injustice to the Nabob, and to the public service with no other view than to fill the pockets of his creatures. If I am truly informed Mr. Webber has made more in his two years' command of the Nabob's horse, than I have in the course of 19 years services in Bengal. The regulations of the military under the command of our officers in the service of the Nabob, having become an object of such magnitude, the Governor has turned his thoughts to it for some months past, and I flatter myself, in a few days a plan will be complete, and in readiness to lay before the Board.

A letter lately received from Mr. Bristow enclosing a state of the Nabob's forces, with a very inaccurate estimate of their expense, will show you in a striking light, the inattention of that gentleman to the only object to which he should have been attentive. It exhibits a picture that must at once alarm and surprise—surprise, because it is to be understood from his former letters that the Nabob had reduced his military, and checked his expences by a more economic regulation—and alarm, because such a body as one hundred and odd thousand troops will not submit to be defrauded of their pay, but will naturally attempt to do themselves justice—under which circumstances, we must either be quiet spectators of a revolution in the Government, or found into the abominable alternative of butchering a number of poor soldiers for demanding their right. The idea is too horrible to dwell upon. We must attempt, and, I hope, we have time to avert this impending mischief, but as for Mr. Bristow I think him inexcusable. He could remonstrate loudly and indecently enough to the Nabob on less material subjects, and foolishly propose the limitation of his personal expences in a manner that came so near to the condition of the Nabob of Bengal on our first acquiring the Dewannee, that no wonder he rejected the proposition and was filled with distrust, and this jealousy may, I fear, counteract our best intentions. It is most certain the Nabob seeks all occasions to set this Government at variance with Nuzziff Cawn—and his weakness, brutality, and want of every principle, leads me to think, he may, when least expected, break out into some mad and rash action. It is most certain he is very apprehensive of our intercourse with Nuzziff Cawn, and uses every art to frustrate the mutual endeavors of this Government and of Nuzziff Cawn to treat on the terms of a future alliance. He is not such a fool to be blind to

the advantages we should draw from such an alliance, and the check it would be upon him, when on a future day he might mediate a blow against the English. A chief of Nuzziff Cawn's abilities on his back, in friendship with us, will always keep him to his good behaviour. But if he can create differences between Nuzziff Cawn and our Government, and draw Nuzziff Cawn to himself, he will have nothing to apprehend, and be at liberty to act against us on any favourable occasion. However fair appearances may be between our Government and Nabob, it is not possible he should regard us in any other light than enemies. Thus circumstanced, in whatever point of view the attempt to bind Nuzziff Cawn to us may be represented by Clavering, the attempt is wise and political, but the difficulties to be surmounted are, I fear, insuperable.

The Government of Madras, apprehensive of the designs of France, have resolved to augment their force by new levies of native troops. I think they have good reason to be on their guard, but I flatter myself before any attempt is made by the French Government on the Carnatic or Bengal, the alarm will be taken in England, and two regiments at least ordered to India for the protection of your possessions in the Bay. Believe me, should the Carnatic or Bengal be invaded by a force of 10,000 Europeans, they will shake the power of the English in the East, and if they do not entirely subvert it, must in all probability give it such a blow as it will never recover. Report speaks largely of the French military strength at the Islands, and under the denomination of mariners to the French ships now in the river of Bengal, we have seen upwards of 2,000 Europeans at Chandernagore. It behoves the Government of England to be watchful for the safety of this rich kingdom, and not confide too much in the native forces, which at present constitute its greatest strength, for, be assured, they will fail you in the time of extremity against an European enemy.

The distractions in the Mahratta State appear to have past their crises, and the Government of the ministers to be established. Sudashaw Row or Sudaboy has been defeated, and taken prisoner, and Rogonaut Row has fled and taken protection once more at Bombay. What consequences may attend the receiving of Rogonaut Row, time will disclose. I apprehend the worst if the factions in that Government unite, and the best, if they continue divided and quarrelling amongst themselves. I can neither condemn or approve the conduct of Bombay on this occasion, as I am ignorant of the policy that determined it.

Calcutta, the 6th February 1777.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Ballance of the public treasuries ...	1,48,79,160	12	6
Opium, salt, and woolens, &c., as per estimate, 18th September 1776 ...	60,71,094	0	0
Arrears of pay due account the troops to be received from the Nabob of Oude—stated the 17th January 1777 at 30 lacks of Oude siccas and a ballance in the Resident's hands of about 3 lacs in all 33,00,000 or about Crs. ...	36,30,000	0	0
Total current ...	2,45,80,254	12	6
Deduct as follows, viz. :—			
	Rs.	A.	P.
Deposits and bonds which may be claimed at the pleasure of the holders ...	15,32,243	12	9
Due on salt contracts which the Government must ultimate- ly pay per estimate, 18th September 1776 ...	7,00,000	0	0
	22,32,243	12	9
6th February 1777. Nett total after payment of all debts ...	2,23,48,010	15	9

The sum of twenty-two millions three hundred and forty-eight thousand and ten rupees fifteen annas and nine pice appears and is the actual estate of the Company the 6th February 1777. So that by the 10th April 1777 to which period my estimate of the 18th September last extends, the full stated sum in that estimate will be forthcoming, viz., Rs. 2,49,08,869.

No. 525.

TO MR. MARY BARWELL.

CALCUTTA,
The 16th February, 1777.

MY DEAR SISTER,

This is simply to give you a letter from the Governor General and to beg your particular regard to those interests which so nearly concern us and which I wish to draw closer by effecting a friendship and confidence upon

the broadest foundation. I have not seen what he has written, but he has long treated to present himself before you, and I beg you will regard him as my friend.

No. 526.

TO JOHN JOHNSTONE, ESQ.

CALCUTTA,

The 8th January, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

I beg leave to trouble you with the account of the money in my hands in trust for Miss A. Keene as Mr. Leycester and Mr. Skinner are both in England. You will perceive by the accompanying accounts that the principle sum of current ten thousand remains entire and that there is a ballance of Cr. 70-6-6 due from me for interest. But as it is inconvenient for me to pay 9 per cent. for Miss A. Keene's money when I can borrow to any amount at only 5 per cent., I cannot allow her more than 5 per cent. from this day, especially as the Company's Treasury is so full of money that none can be received at any rate of interests. I know it may be said that money is borrowed here at a higher rate of interest, but those who take up money in that manner I do not choose to trust, as I may by your deed of assignment be obliged to make it good in case of accident. I wrote to Mr. Beaumont to this effect, which he acquainted Miss A. Keene with, who in her letter to me appears alarmed at having her income reduced. As I do not think myself authorized to pay the principal to any body not named in your deed of trust I shall be very much obliged if you and Miss A. Keene will join in granting R. Leycester, R. Skinner and me a release from the trust upon which I will at a moment's warning pay the money that may then be in my hands to whoever you and she may think proper that I may have nothing further to do with it, and in future it will not suit me to pay the interest in London, but it shall be paid here to any person Miss A. Keene may authorize to receive it.

I am also to trouble you respecting your other deed of assignment dated 1 August 1765 to R. Leycester, R. Barwell and R. Skinner of Cr. 17,141-14. in trust for Miss Betty Johnstone which sum was lent to William Bolts on his bond dated 10th January 1768 to James Johnstone, William Johnstone and Samuel Hannay trustees for Miss Betty Johnstone payable in London the 10th January 1770 at the rate of twenty-six pence sterling per current rupee which bond is now in my possession. I know nothing of Mr. Bolts's concerns, but from common report which are said to be bad enough, nor can I tell if any part of the principal or interest of his bond hath been paid in London agreeably to its tenor. This trust, you must recollect, was accepted by me to oblige you as well as the other in favor of Miss A. Keene without

any view of benefit to myself, and as the amount of Miss Betty Johnstone's money has been remitted to London by Mr. Bolts's said bond I request the favour of you to join Miss Betty Johnstone in granting a release to R. Leycester, R. Skinner and me respecting the deed of assignment you executed in her favour that we may be relieved from the trust whilst the parties are living and not leave an opening for disputes after some of them are dead, which I am persuaded is the furthest from your wish, and that you will readily comply with my request in granting releases respecting those two trusts before mentioned.

No. 527.

TO MISS ANNE KEENE.

CALCUTTA,

The 8th January, 1777.

MADAM,

I am favored with yours of 30th March 1776 and am sorry to be under the necessity of refusing to allow more than 5 per cent. interest for the money of yours in my hands and also to acquaint you I cannot in future pay you the interest in London, but it shall be punctually paid here to whoever you may be pleased to authorize to receive it. And as I do not think myself authorized to pay the principal of your money to your attorneys, I have written to Mr. John Johnstone by this conveyance and enclosed him the account of your money in my hands and requested him to join with you in granting Messrs. Leycester, Skinner, and myself a release from the trust upon receipt of which the money then in my hands shall be immediately paid to whoever you and he may be pleased to authorize to receive it, but for particulars I beg leave to refer you to Mr. John Johnstone.

No. 528.

TO MRS. MARRY BARWELL.

CALCUTTA,

The 7th March, 1777.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I had flattered myself before this time with advices by the way of Bussorah as low down as August, but the town being possessed by the Persians and the country a scene of war, has, I imagine, interrupted the communication; not a letter that I can get information of having come to the hand of any individual. Resting then in the hope of the next intelligence proving agreeable to my wishes, I shall reconcile myself as well as I can to a state of uncertainty, and, without plaguing my head about the result of what may be

past or in agitation to Hastings or my detriment, wait with patience the fortune that attends us. Clavering as usual supplies the want of argument with scurrility and general abuse, and sensible of the prejudice of the publick, takes every occasion to fill the records with illiberal insinuations. The other day he introduced (as applicable to Hastings and myself) the sentiments delivered by Lord George Germaine and a gentleman of the House of Commons whose name I have forgot, on the manner of sending out Commissioners to India. These speeches whatever grounds may have been given for them, I am convinced, could not have been offered by such distinguished personages to involve every character in the east, but were pointed to the men and to the occasion that gave rise to the debate. However be that as it may, I flatter myself, neither the one nor the other of the Hon'ble speakers will be pleased to have been made Clavering a channel of invective against two men who were as much the choice of the Minister as the other three equally named by him, and who, I am confident, will to the best of their abilities discharge the trust with which they are vested. Whether they merit praise or be subject to censure, let the present state of the East India Company and the benefits flowing to Great Britain from their attention to the interests confided to them decide.

Mr. Francis whom, I mentioned to you in a former letter to be more guarded and more moderate than Clavering, had, I find, his particular view for the conduct he observed; his object was to preserve to Mr. Bristow the station he held of Resident at the Court of Oude. This not being effected, he has decidedly opposed on all occasions, and with much good sense and ingenuity questioned particularly the measure undertaken by the Governor and myself of forming a complete registry of the landed property of the country. The difference of men, customs and manners he totally disregards in his disquisition of the subject, and writes direct for a mode of censing the country that must be against the interests of the Government, because it is not from the genius of the people in that state to admit of so summary a system as he lays down for the revenue. The rights of the commonalty which none of the regulations have as yet had force on the zemindars to define and fix, are still unsettled, and every art has been used by the lords of the land to evade compliance in a point that must emancipate the vassal and give him a known legal property independant of his lord. But Mr. Francis is not oversolicitous about this; he talks of zemindari as of estates in Europe, forgetting that in a measure which shall throw much wealth into the hands of any feudal chief, he arms him against the Government and raises within the Government a power that may be dangerous to the estate. Conceive to yourself Bengal divided and split into a number of principalities, holding under the English Government as Benares does, and then at any time or on any occasion the Rajahs

considerating. Under such circumstances will any man in his senses imagine the very being of the English not to be at risk? The thing is self-evident, and Mr. Francis is totally mistaken in arguing from the policy of European states, since the abolition of feudal tenures took place amongst them, since property became more diffused and since the vassal became emancipated. In short there is evident danger in adopting Mr. Francis's ideas, who makes no distinction between using the zemindars in the just relation they stand unto Government as mere collectors of the revenue and lords of the manor, and making them independant princes (like the zemindars of Benares) of provinces as extensive a Burgundy when it aided the English arms against France. I fear to weary you by dwelling longer on a controversy that has wasted much paper and which will be submitted to you in the Governor's dispatches, and I should not have touched upon it here but in order to vindicate myself from the imputation of inconsistency in having approved the ministration of zemindars instead of farmers of the revenue and then for having assented to an investigation of the revenue, etc., etc., Adieu. My dear Sister

P.S.—You will show my letter to Mr. Savage as I do not believe I shall be able to write to him.

No. 529.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

CALCUTTA,

The 31st March, 1777.

MY DEAR SISTER,

No advices since the 24th of May last by the Suez conveyance having been received, the same state of suspense prevails, and various conjectures are formed of what may be the result of the opposing votes of the Directors and Proprietors on the differences that have arisen and still continue in our Councils. In the opinions of many, it is supposed, no changes will be made, and that the commission of Government will be suffered to expire without alteration. For myself I know not what judgment to form. I see on one hand the powerful interest of Clavering operating to Hastings's and my prejudice, and on the other the third year of the commission far advanced with no decisive measure adopted by the Ministry to deprive Mr. Hastings of his Government. I say no decisive measure for I regard not that to be such taken on a ballot of the Directors and opposed in the Proprietary, because the overruling influence of my Lord North, had that measure been with his participation, must have carried it through against any popular and jarring interests that could possibly have combated it. I have therefore all along regarded it as the particular measure of Clavering's connections which Lord

North did not chuse to check but left to make the trial, declining himself any interference in the prosecutions of their scheme. Persuaded as I am that no fortuitous support can avail Mr. H. and myself against any real intention of the Minister to a change, I can place no reliance but on his disposition to keep things on their present footing. The interest of a state combines, or should combine, the welfare of every constituent part, and these parts in a degree to the justness of their proportions, and to their disposition giving duration, strength and activity to the whole political fabrick, must be as much the object of a great Minister's attention, as their effect. Unless faction can impute to him so much madness as to suppose he looks for consequences entirely foreign and totally opposite to the means that produce them. That the Government has no interest whatever distinct from the people is a position self-evident, however much the subtlety of argument may have involved it and rendered it equivocal to the apprehensions of many. Nor have the Company more than individuals cause to repine at contributing in proportion to their ability, an ability they derive under the protection of that Government to which they would pretend to deny a participation. What the Administration may resolve upon respecting the Company is a question beyond my depth to determine. Of this however I am satisfied that wisdom and policy must yield to the Company all that is essential to their prosperity and preservation. The passions and prejudices of the vulgar do not ground the actions of statesmen, and the Company and whatever odium they lay under will, I should suppose, merit the Minister's care in any settlement he may make. With these sentiments it would be the height of folly in me to instigate my friends to an opposition to any settlement the Administration may be inclined to make; it would be unavailing whatever might be urged by factious leaders to the contrary, in order to impose on the unthinking part of mankind and render their credulity and passions subservient to their own views. In short, my dear Sister, whatever fortune attends me in this country, whether I prosper by the Minister's favor or retire before the prevailing interest of Clavering, engage in no opposition and join not in any cabals formed to obstruct the Minister's measures in a future settlement with the Company. I shall not hold you vindicated in any opposition unless a personal attack compels you to justification of Hastings or of myself.

No. 530.

TO MRS. BARWELL.

CALCUTTA,

The 31st March, 1777.

MY DEAR SISTER,

My letter of this date gives you my political creed in pretty express terms, and I mean, if occasion offers, that you should impress a just idea of

my implicit reliance on the wisdom of Administration. If there be any bar to my being employed in the Bengal Council, I am content to relinquish my station, whether I be or be not gratified in any other way. Fairly tired out with contention, I feel an indolence about me that inclines me to retirement, unless I could depend and had assurance of such support as would encourage me to bear the unpleasant burden, and excite the exertion of any little powers that might be serviceable to the publick, and honorable to myself. But while my apprehensions are alarmed, and I am taught to believe that every villainous aspersion will carry the force of truth, I am almost indifferent, at least I have not that solicitude about me, which so active a Government and such complicated scenes require. Could I be removed to Fort Saint George, or could I be translated to the charge of the Company's commercial interests here, with powers independent of the Council General, and at the head of a Board not exceeding six members, though I would rather chuse it to consist of four only, either of these changes would be a relief to me. In the first I should hope to answer the united views of the Ministry and Company, and in the latter which would not be very agreeable to my turn of mind, prove a good commercial agent, in which capacity I should have time to realize my fortune, and wait a season of less prejudice to return to England, for it is terrible to me at least to think of the prejudices that prevail, if they do as I am informed involve all Indians without distinction. Besides since my marriage, I am less anxious about Europe, and more inclined to pursue Fortune in the East, than step forward in the western world under the banner of the Ministry with greater obstacles than are opposed to me in a scene I am acquainted with. I consider, I should appear in England as a stranger, and if my attachment to the ruling power in the State gave me any consideration with the rulers, I should be regarded with impatience even by many associated in the same cause. At the same time, I should have my feeling daily wounded by illiberal abuse cast at random by the opposing faction. An active scene in England, of course, is not a desirable object to me. I am convinced it would distract my peace of mind, and so ill can my spirit brook wrongs, that it would probably carry me into extremes that would either cost me my life, or force me to fly my country, to save it from the rigor of the law. And yet I think my temper so well regulated as to be proof against the impulse of sudden rage, capable of bearing much, though to some occasions my patience, I acknowledge, would not be equal. What those are you have already one instance given you in 1775, and there may be others, under which I might prove equally culpable. My dear Friend, excuse the faults of my nature. I know your partial regard makes you anxious to see me step into life in England, and that it flatters you with prospects in my favor far beyond what my abilities will answer. I speak it

not out of modesty, thoroughly acquainted with my own deficiencies I pronounce myself ill qualified for the path of ambition that it would please you to engage me in.

I have written some letters of recommendation to you from those urging it to me, whom I could not well refuse, but it is not my wish that you should notice them by any particular exertions on your part. You will therefore regard them as things of course, and be deviated in any attention you give them by circumstances, for I meant not either to waste my interest or yours, in the views of men to whom I have no particular attachment, though I would willingly serve them if it fell in my way without laying myself under obligation to others. This intimation is necessary as your affection might otherwise interpret such letters to be entitled to an attention from you. I do not require.

I enclose you some extraordinary dispositions taken before the Supreme Court of Judicature on the transactions of the Armenian, who was countenanced by Clavering and his faction. They are merely to give the uninformed an insight into the character of the man who has been Clavering's instrument to villify me, and who has been represented to the publick as being undeservedly treated by me in being deprived of his salt agency. Such a monster of barbarity stands, however, not only exposed, but cast for such high damages that he will with difficulty, I think, be able to answer them. He has retired to the Dutch Settlement to elude, if possible, the decision of the Bench. How long he will continue there, or the Dutch Government give him protection, time will shew. Many illiberal insinuations have passed from Clavering on the prosecutions commenced against this man, none of which have I noticed, in the persuasion truth would overbear the malevolent spirit that dictated them and expose the arts by which Clavering would screen such a villain from justice, and represent him as suffering in the publick cause, "because he had dared to charge me with having profitted from the salt contracts" a thing I all along avowed, and at no one time made a secret of.

About a month since I moved the Council to demand the accounts of the Rajah of Burdwan's household; this motion passed, and an order was issued to the Council of Burdwan, to apply for the accounts. To this application, the Rannee, or mother of the Rajah, replied, the household Dewan having relinquished his office, had nothing to do with the accounts, that she would neither deliver the particulars in explanation of her short made-up abstract of the household, or submit the vouchers to inspection. In consequence much altercation has passed on the right of Government to make this demand. Clavering and Francis violently contest it, declaring it an arbitrary act of power. Pray read with attention the Governor's Minutes on this subject; they exhibit in a striking light the conduct of the late Majority and the shameless

effrontery of the opposition, attempting to reconcile positive contradictions. Their motive in supporting the Rannee in her refusal is best known to themselves—mine for calling for the accounts were information I received of the zemindar's income being dissipated by the Rannee, to gratify the Household Dewan who has been long her kept gallant, and of donations to the amount of upwards of two lacs for removing Brijookissore and Prankissore Metre, at or near the period the Majority turned those men out of office, to introduce two of Nuncomar's recommendation, and to make the Rannee the guardian to her son, and the disposer of the income of his estate. My information I have every reason to credit, it coincides with the communication made to the Governor. But it was neither prudent nor necessary to make any charge, while the more moderate and direct mode offered of calling for the accounts, and vouchers of the household disbursements. What will result from this inquiry is immaterial to the question of right—the Government can or cannot demand the accounts. If it cannot, those who are no more than the stewards to the young zemindar, are subject to no controul, and may dispose of the property of their ward at their pleasure, without being accountable for their management to any jurisdiction whatever. Had the Rajah been of age, and in the management of his own affairs, the General and Mr. Francis would be right, though even then, upon their principles, the Government may set on foot any inquisition it pleases. Witness the number of commissions, the late Majority gave to different peoples to ransack the country for papers, and the support given those commissioners in the exercise of a lawless severity to influence the zemindars to make up accounts, to answer their views. Striking are the actions of Rosewell in Midnapore, John Sumner in Hidglee and Heatly in Jessore. But Rosewell's transcends all: he promised to excuse the payment of the publick revenue to any amount the zemindars would charge against the officers of Government, who had been entrusted with the collections. This not fully answering, he put the people under restraint, and, because one Narrainsutputty remonstrated against his proceedings, he recommended to the Council of Burdwan to strip him of his hereditary lands, under the plea of seizing them for ballances he affirms to be due from the man on some commercial transaction with the Company, as such an example, he says, will greatly facilitate his endeavors, by deterring others who have the presumption to demurr to his orders, or in other words "not to act agreeably to his views." The Burdwan Consultations on Mr. Rosewell's transactions at Midnapore, clearly show what any man of principle or honor would blush to countenance, and yet though such absurdity, knavery, and folly, are combined in this man's actions, they have found for advocates General Clavering and Mr. Francis, who say, he is an unhappy victim to his zeal which has exposed the corruption of the creatures of the old Government—shameless impudence,

when nothing more is exposed than simple disbursements in the course of business, and intercourse of the parties, which no Government under the sun can prevent, and which only become criminal when complained against. The inquisitions thus set on foot by the late Majority have cost the Company a sum not less than (crs. 1,40,000) current rupees one hundred and forty thousand, of which Rosewell, has drawn about 25,000, to stimulate his zeal. If I get a particular account of the acquirors and their charges attested by the Accomptant, I will send it, but I apprehend from the disbursements on this head being made from different offices, that it cannot be prepared so accurately as to allow of an attestation to a complete and full statement. However, what he can trace to have been actually paid for these inquisitions, he may attest, and prove in part what I affirm, that the late Majority have expended of the Company's property, at least 1,40,000 rupees, for no other purpose than to prosecute their own resentments, and from which no one single advantage was proposed, or could possibly arise to the public. Yet two of that Majority when an explanation of an abstract account delivered to the Board is asked for, and the vouchers to prove the disbursements pretended to be made demanded, tell us we have no right to make such a request. To what end then, may I ask, was it stipulated that accounts should be regularly delivered into Government? If Government cannot investigate them when delivered, was it done in mockery of the common sense of the Directors, and to impose on them, with a show of attention to the disbursements of the Burdwan Rajah's household? That was never intended. If so I have nothing to urge, and Clavering and Francis are entirely consistent in their present opposition.

Tell Mr. Robinson, Mr. Wordsworth is to be removed from his present employment in a few days, that I have secured him a place in Mr. Law's family at Patna, and an income of 200 sicca Rupees or crs. 232 per month, as Assistant at that factory, and further make my apology for not writing to him.

I shall write to you again by the Men of War. In the mean time remember me to my sister Fanny, and tell her, if she will give me a specimen of her taste in the choice of a quantity of neat mahogany furniture, which you will pay for, and get James to send out, by buying up the privileges of some of the mates, carpenters, gunners, etc., of the India ships, I shall be much obliged to her. Any elegant useful toys, not the tinsell shewy good for nothing things Indians are generally supposed to be fond of, will be acceptable. I should likewise be obliged, if you could get purchased for me in France, and sent out on the French ships, four pairs of looking glasses, 6 or 7 feet long by 4 feet broad, without frames as the French frames are seldom elegant, though their glasses are much superior to ours. The frames may be made in

England, if you cannot depend on their being made by any particular pattern in frame. At any rate the glasses must not be packed framed, as they run much greater risk of being broke, from the increased largeness of their package, and the warping of the frames. The frames and glasses therefore must have separate packages. At the same time you send the commission for the glasses, you will not forget remnants of fashionable silks for men's cloaths, and some handsome light silk brocades (no gold nor silver) for women's gowns and sacks. *N.B.* I mean by mahogany furniture commodos, dressing and tea tables, large bureaux, cloths presses, book cases, arm chairs and couches, any of these picked up at any of the public sales, will answer my purposes as well as if they were new.

[*To be continued.*]



THE LATE MOST REVEREND G. A. LEFROY, D. D., D.O.L.,
Late Metropolitan of India and Ceylon.

By kind permission of
Messrs. Bourne & Shepherd.

A Letter from George Cornish, Aide-de-Camp to Sir John Shore, Governor-General, during an Official Tour in 1797.

GEORGE Cornish was the son of James Cornish of West Teignmouth Devon, by his wife, Margaret, daughter of the Rev. William Floyer, the descendant of a Devonshire family, for many generations seated at Floyer's Hayes, near Exeter. His sister, Charlotte, had married Sir John Shore, subsequently Governor-General of India, in February, 1786. George had fallen deeply in love with Sarah Kestell, the last representative of an old Cornish family. But George was a younger son, and in Royal Marine Corps which he had joined in 1780. John Kestell looked higher for his daughter. Sarah was motherless, but her aunt encouraged the young couple to defy the old gentleman. Sarah waited until she was 21 and then went to London and married her lover in 1792. They went to France together, but the outbreak of the war put a speedy end to their honeymoon. George accepted the post of Aide-de-Camp to his brother-in-law, who was just returning to India as Governor-General, though it involved separation from his wife, who was not in a condition to travel. Almost the very moment of his embarkation a message reached him telling him of the birth of his first-born son, whom he was not to see until the child was four years old. Letters at that time took four to nine months to reach India.

The occasion of this letter was the visit of the Governor-General to the Nabob of Oude, to insist on the carrying out of certain reforms. Letters from Sir John Shore which illustrate this expedition are printed in "The Life of John Lord Teignmouth," by his son Lord Teignmouth, London, 1843, 2 Vols., but some additional details as to the negotiations with the Nabob of Oude are given in this letter. The cottage of which George Cornish dreamed should be built on the slope of Salcombe Hill was actually erected, or rather the manor house was built instead in which George Cornish and his wife died. The letter in its complete form consists

of 56 quarto pages, very closely written. The remainder of it is of interest to none but his family.

BENARES,

The 8th February, 1797.

"I have begun as soon as I possibly could the history of this new expedition. I set out from Calcutta on the 2nd February, and arrived here on the 7th, a distance of about 450 miles, whereas my last route here by the windings of the river made it 700. I was carried night and day in a palanquin on men's shoulders, sets of bearers were placed at stages about 10 miles apart. Great part of the road, at least 350 miles, is cut through a forest and about 100 yards on each side of the road is cut down parallel with it, so that you may now securely pass without being pounced upon by a tiger. The road is through hills filled with fine trees in great variety and a multitude of flowering shrubs. The contrast from the eternal flat of Bengal I found peculiarly gratifying, and, could I have slept (which my companion General D. did perfectly) I should have found no inconvenience from the journey. A night's rest has set me perfectly right, and I never was better in my life.

"I found Sir John, who had preceeded me by a day, equally well, and yesterday some part of the puppet show began in a visit to the grandson of the famous Shah Allam, the quondam Great Mogal, who you know still lives at Delhi, allowed the poor remains of state in his house by the Mahrattas; who, among the divisions of that great empire of which Delhi was the capital, have possessed themselves of the districts round it. The history of this country I conclude you have now made yourself acquainted with; I shall therefore proceed in my account of our visit.

"The eldest son was seated on a sofa in a small temple supported by pillars, and open on all sides but that on which he sat. Sir John approached in front, made his salaam and then presented to the Begum under a screen some money on a clean handkerchief, he after this presented the son with the same sum. I performed the same ceremony. I tried to get a peep at the lady as the screen opened a little, but I could not see, but I saw very plainly a very pretty girl, I conclude an attendant, not darker than nankeen. We sat down and conversed for some little time.

"When the signal for departure was given the prince took off the robe from himself and put it on Sir John, after which he placed his turban on his head, put a large string of pearls round his neck, a large broad belt over his shoulder to which hung a cutlass, and gave him also a shield. A shawl was also thrown over his shoulders, but the ceremony ended not here, each separately returned to his golden state palanquin absolutely greased with

otter of roses. In the same masquerade we travelled through dust and heat three miles in procession to two visits where precisely the same ceremony took place. I got two new handsome shawls for my trouble, at least I thought so, and hugged myself in the recompense, but alas! they will be sold at an auction for the benefit of the Company, although I have taken no oath to prevent my receiving presents. * * * I am now preparing for another visit of the same description, or if it varies, I will tell you of it. I have received all your dear letters by the first fleet. Although I had received those of two months latest date, it was before a broken chain, and these are golden links—they are just after Bessy's marriage whilst you were at Exeter.

"This renowned chief Zemaun Shah must be a principal hero in my history now. He has killed all the people he suspected of writing concerning his manœuvres, and we cannot get very good accounts of him. Reports were yesterday that he was retiring, but to-day's accounts tell us he perseveres in his intention of invading Hindostan. We shall see; in the mean time every preparation is making for his reception; they say he has neither artillery or foot with him, but about 400,000 well-appointed and well-disciplined cavalry; these have not yet tasted grape from an English park of artillery.

"Our visit yesterday to a Hindoo Raja was attended with some variety, a tumultuous rabble makes part of every procession in this country, and when we arrived at the gates of his garden a great number of people rushed in with us. At first I could not discover the cause of this unusual rudeness, but immediately on entering the gate I found myself nearly tripped up, and on looking to discover the cause I observed that the whole of the passage (about 300 yards) to the pavilion where the Rajah sat, was laid with new cloth, which I conclude became the perquisite of the best scrambler. After Sir John had passed, as I was not impelled by the same impatience as the rabble they soon divided me from the rest, and finding myself in danger of being thrown down and growing at the same time a little angry at being hustled, I applied my sheathed hanger in all directions, and by this means contrived to walk securely the rest of the way.

"On our arrival we were received by the Rajah and entertained with a nautch, and the best music I have heard in the country. When we were about to take our departure about fifty trays full of shawls and other manufactures, with two immense diamonds and other jewels were presented to Sir John, but which he refused, with some horses, one of which, as I cannot mount myself so well elsewhere, I mean to have the loan of during my expedition. This, with another will, I hope, be all my dignity will require, for at present I am spending more money than I like and as yet I know not whether I am to be re-embursed. My journey above has cost me nearly £100. Before my window are now parading 12 elephants caparisoned in

silver, with gold cloth howdahs, there are likewise camels, and groups of horses; these are the attendants of the various ambassadors, Nabobs and Rajahs, who have all come to pay their respects to Sir John. He has been engaged these three days in receiving a multitude of them, of various religions and manners, but the varieties are not easily discriminated by an European, their dress and habits being very similar. I yesterday saw the Sikh Chiefs, or rather ambassadors sent by them. The Sikhs are a new people, an emanation from the Hindoos, but among whom there is no caste, and any man of any nation may be admitted into their fraternity. Their religion is now nearly pure theism, connected with some superstition attendant always on a people not much enlightened. They are divided into many independent chieftainships but always unite in defence of each other, at least they have hitherto done so, and thereby caused a formidable barrier to the irruptions of the northern powers. Zemaun Shah however fell upon some of them unawares, conquered them and bought off others, and the same horrors are now carrying on among them as may be read of in the Maccabees: carrying away captive, rooting out whole nations in the true old style of going to war, when — as they say, fought the battle for his chosen people, but as I cannot believe the blasphemy, I will not write the word. A few of the chiefs, in consequence of his halt, have recovered from their consternation and are now assembling together with the Mahrattas, who, as Hindoos, are implacable enemies to the Mahomedan Zemaun Shah — not that there ever can be any persecution on the part of a Hindoo, because no man can be admitted within the pale of his religion; but the Mahomedans of the present day are just as barbarous in this respect as the Christians were a little ago. The Shah has sent a detachment on, but to-day brings but little news respecting his manœuvres; but a famous fellow who has just destroyed a formidable bandit is coming to-day, and to-morrow we set off for Jaunpoor, about two and thirty miles from here, to meet the Nabob. * * *

"We set out from Benares two or three days ago, since which time I have been occupied in affairs of state and have not been able to write. We set off about four o'clock in the morning, either in palanquins, on elephants, or on horseback. Yesterday we were met by 500 horse as Sir John's body-guard and to-day are within one stage of the Nabob. We have passed through the most beautiful and highly cultivated country, planted with groves of mango trees, under which our tents are pitched and the whole scene forms a most animated and picturesque appearance. Elephants, camels, horses, oxen, sepoy and horsemen disposed of in different parties and groups of the different castes and religions preparing their dinner. This is the life of all others that suits Sir John, and I never saw him in higher spirits. * *

On our arrival this morning at the tents, there were six very fine horses

which the Nabob had sent for a present, we had before this ten of his horses in our suite finely caparisoned but we all prefer our own horses and English saddles. It is hardly possible to compute the multitude that is already with us, but to-morrow we meet the Nabob's Vizier, and as he is the most splendid emanation of the Grand Mogul empire now remaining, your imagination has something to rest upon. We marched this morning as usual and in about two hours arrived at the rivulet which divides the English Empire from the Nabob's dominions. We crossed it and were proceeding, but the Nabob sent a message and begged not to advance, so we halted, having previously sent on the five hundred horse which formed two lines. Just as they had done so the Nabob was observed advancing with one elephant only, on which he rode, and a few of his court on horse back. He got down with apparent impatience to embrace Sir John who also got down, and they met and embraced. All our elephants were kneeling, and we all got out of our howdahs in compliment to His Highness, but after they had met each ascended his own elephant and proceeded: as soon as we had passed our own horse a numberless row of caparisoned elephants were arranged on each side, troops of all descriptions were drawn up, the stamping of horses, the noise of the cannon, the shouts of trumpets, the continued roar of drums and the screams of their discordant wind instruments with the bawling of the people and the cries of beggars exhibited a scene new and interesting to me. The back of an elephant is the only situation in which a scene of this kind can be reviewed to advantage, and I never before could attach insignificance to a horse, but in comparison with this animal it really appeared contemptible, although there were, among the number that surrounded us, as many beautiful horses as I ever saw. After having proceeded about three miles through this clatter and confusion we got into his camp. In his tent was a breakfast provided where, after having been embraced by the Nabob, I sat down dusty and hot and devoured a very hearty meal. While we were at breakfast buffoons entertained us with gross and indecent tricks, one in particular exhibited a most ludicrous representation of the Hindoo worship. Now it is from the industry of these people that the.....draws the whole of his revenue—about two millions sterling. After these came a nautch, and then some fine horses were led in. From this tent we removed to another, where an immense display of shawls, etc., were exhibited as presents. These, as usual, were refused, but each of us was desired to choose a shawl, which now lies before me, and which would make you a very nice winter gown. In my choice I had this in view. I do not know whether I am to keep it, or whether this also is to be sent to the auction.

"The Nabob is fat, very dark, has a royal impetuosity of speech, an open mouth, a dull intellect, a quick propensity to mischief and vice, but no energy

of mind. He is about 40, but his conduct is that of a worthless school boy, General Martine, who has known him these thirty years, during the greater part of which time he has resided in his country, this morning amused me with some anecdotes about him. One, which happened yesterday, made me feel a repugnance at his embrace, although he might have executed justice however dreadfully severe. Some affray happened in a village close to his encampment, in which one of his men was killed, upon which he immediately sent a party, cut off the head of the chief of the village and seized a number of the inhabitants, but what has been their fate since I know not. This is summary justice, but over man or beast he has no control, and this expedition at this season when the corn is standing will desolate his own country almost as much as if the enemy were passing through it. He has lately grown more capricious and cruel. Many of his barbers have just fallen under his displeasure, and if they spring a hair or make the slightest scar he immediately orders their noses to be cut off and banished his kingdom. According to the accounts I have received and which I believe there is no reason to doubt, the amusements of Tiberius at Capua must in comparison with those of this beast have been elegant and refined. We shall proceed in company to-morrow to his capital. * * * * After breakfast I went out on an elephant for the purpose of shooting, but, found it too hot, and returned, passing through a wood a limb of a tree impeded our progress. At least I was apprehensive it would come across me as the elephant went on. His driver, however, told him to take it down and put it under his legs as he walked on which he did immediately and passed over such ground as no horse could approach. I never get on these animals but they astonish me by their actions. On going through a market a thousand little things are displayed on the ground. On approaching these I have felt for the poor people's property, conceiving all must be destroyed, but I never saw them touch anything. If by ill usage or other causes the animal has been made angry and a child fell in its way it invariably took it up and laid it in a place of safety.

"About 4 o'clock the Nabob came to pay a visit to Sir John in State, and on his taking leave the same kind of presents were laid before him as he had the day before offered Sir John, these however he took. Whilst we sat at dinner a Persian newspaper was brought in, this was the history of the day, something like this. "His Highness after a sweet and happy sleep and after having undergone his evacuations, purifications, dressing and prayer" (for which ceremony there is a compound Indian word) "he ascended his elephant." It then goes on to relate the events, the substance of which I have already given. If he has any feeling he must have been struck with remorse on his route this morning—a very large village had been totally

abandoned and burnt. It was abandoned by the people in consequence of their chief being incapable of paying a sum of money which the Nabob demanded of him—they dreading that vengeance might fall on them for the flight of the Zemindar—and burnt by the Nabob to allay his disappointment. It is to induce him to govern his country better that we have come here; these are the people on whom such elegant and pathetic eloquence has been bestowed respecting the benevolence of their government in comparison to what the natives suffer under our own. The natives however know better, and are perpetually emigrating from this government and putting themselves under ours, where they know their persons and property are protected. This Nabob, you know, is our grand ally. His father attacked us without the smallest provocation on our part. We fought the battle of Buxar and beat him completely in so much that he came in to our camp on unconditional terms. Policy told us that we had already empire enough—whether good policy or no is another question here—and we give him back his country on condition of his paying an annual tribute. It was supposed that his country bordering on a fierce people would be a barrier to ours; instead of this, on the present occasion some of his people have actually invited them in for the purpose of driving us away. The renowned chief however Zemaun Shah that has set us all in motion is on his retreat to his own country fearing an invasion from the Persian side, and not liking probably the formidable preparations going on here to receive him. Before he quitted Lahore he committed such horrors that it is supposed he does not again mean to come back. Our existence depends on this barrier being preserved, it is therefore necessary to take measures accordingly. The object is to restore this low brute to his senses, to recall the gentlemen to his court which have been banished by the lowest and most profligate wretches which he has lately chosen for his companions and make him again a respectable and formidable ally, and not depose another Nabob—which by the way he richly deserves, and his people would hail the day. His family also were conquerors and foreigners, we have therefore these rights which from the beginning of time have been held of some value by mankind. This morning he came in whilst we were at breakfast without ceremony and the conversation turned on the establishment of colleges, for he has neither college nor court of justice in his whole dominions. There is however one nominal court but the influence of any great man about him totally destroys its efficacy. He held his mouth wide open at this, but would say nothing. His ambassador at Calcutta, who is now with us, is one of the most extraordinary men of the East. I believe there is not such another. He was originally a well taught man in their condition but his association with the English has made him acquainted with all their studies. He has translated Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia* into

Arabic, is seriously a great mathematician, and is now applying himself assiduously to the Greek language. His knowledge of our laws and modes of governing would, had he due influence with the Nabob, make this country a paradise—as it is I never saw anything like it. The mango trees, which bear the finest fruit in the world are as large as a large oak and in general much larger; these are planted in such a manner that the whole country has the effect of a magnificent park containing standing corn instead of turf. The question how this country can be so highly cultivated under such a government will naturally arise. The whole country is farmed by two or three powerful men, the cultivation does not require such an expensive apparatus as in England, and a very little capital enables the farmer to begin. These great farmers never leave him a farthing more, it is necessary however that he should have them in order that their revenues be produced. The people are strongly attached to their native land and ages of oppression have taught them to submit, they therefore annually work for their subsistence. Interest here stops the hand of oppression, sometimes they are not sufficiently politic, and the people run away. Under such circumstances all is lost to the great man and the dread of this gives them a certain degree of independance; and whilst they are contented with just food enough for the year they may maintain this. But if ever by accident any of them have found means to accumulate a little sum, their presumption never fails to meet with its reward. One of these great renters is allowed an immense sum of money, which he deducts from the revenues, for the support of an army in their collection. This army he has continued to attach strongly to himself so as to excite some alarm in the Nabob, and were it not for the English, he would soon depose him. Our influence however preserves the Nabob's superiority, and whenever he compliments him with a visit, the great farmer is obliged to make what is called a floor of gold. This is literally to cover the floor of the audience room with gold mohurs, which just makes the sum of ten thousand pounds.

I marched this morning with the Nabob in a parallel line with the road to our tents, and the greater part of our route was through cornfields. As we were all mounted on elephants and followed by a multitude on camels, horses, and on foot, you may conclude what was corn on our approach became dung after we had passed over it. The elephants alone, as they go along, wind round their trunks great bundles of it and stuff it into their mouths, but what they leave must be wholly destroyed. When the Nabob mounted his praises were sung, or rather shouted, and as he passed through an immense crowd of his people he received salaams from all. Many of their elephants knelt down whilst they hailed their master as he passed. After this ceremony we filled off for the hunting. The Nabob looked as if he had

been drunk the night before, and he missed two or three shots which made him rather sulky * * * As well as I can recollect we must have killed about 20 partridges and as many quails, about five hares, three foxes, some ducks and other birds, with a great number of plover. As this ground had been passed by his encampment a few days before, the great game had all abandoned it, so that we saw neither tiger, leopard, deer or hog; but a good humoured fellow, the Nabob's brother-in-law promises me a true royal hunt. On his last party before he came to meet Sir John, the Resident at Lucknow informed me that he (the Nabob) proceeded in this manner ahunting with fifteen hundred elephants in a line. Any man that brought him a bird received a rupee, two bags full of which preceded him carried by two men, and if a line hare, a deer or an antelope was brought to him he generally gave ten. I saw a parrot brought to him, for which he paid immediately. There are but two or three gentlemen in England that persevere in hawking; we had a great number this morning with us, and they never missed when they loosed at a bird. It was a cool morning, in consequence of a little rain which fell last night, and we avoided the dust by going through the corn, which was not my fault.

In the meantime Zemam Shah continues to retreat. If he had come down you may suppose we were not in the best possible state to receive him, but another year I trust we shall again become disciplined and formidable, although I do not think we shall have any further cause of alarm from him.

We march generally from ten to twelve miles a day, and as we travel with two sets of tents of course great number of our men, camels and elephants are on the ground before we arrive, and we also leave a good many on the ground we set out from. Notwithstanding this, the whole road of our day's journey is literally crowded with men, animals and carts. We generally set out half an hour before day light preceded by flambeaux. The mornings are still so cold that there is no necessity for this extreme alertness, but it is Sir John's fun, it is so rare that he experiences such exuberant health that he hardly knows what to do with it. Visits have constantly passed between the Nabob and Sir John, he generally comes every day after breakfast without state, accompanied by an elephant carrying a vast quantity of game, among which I yesterday remarked a fine peacock which was much relished roasted at dinner. I have remarked our trampling down the corn as we pass along, it is impossible wholly to avoid this, but to give the devil his due, I observed troops stationed to-day, to prevent it as much as possible. Yesterday I saw about twenty of his horses, he has altogether about two thousand which he keeps merely to look at, he never rides on horseback himself. His brother-in-law, or some such relation has promised me some

exhibition to-night—I conclude it is a Nautch, but as he means to be civil I shall attend him. * * *

The elephant drivers are the greatest pest of the Nabob's camp; the elephants you know live on large branches of trees. In every village there are two or three wide-spreading banyans which are in some degree sacred to the Hindoos who make up the mass of villagers and cultivators, these fellows fix on those trees for provender and exact frequently a considerable sum as a bribe to prevent their destruction. Our tents are constantly pitched in mango groves, two little doves are now cooing over my head, and a little minor bird singing very prettily. The doves are exactly like those in our garden. I need not say how many ideas it awakens. I do not observe that the mango boughs are ever given to the elephants, the tree from which they are supplied is very common and soon recovers its luxuriance. * * *

This has been a grand day, but I cannot convey to you any idea of it by description, however you shall have it. We set out together with the Nabob this morning at 6 A.M., after having passed through the usual line of salutes from artillery and salaams from his people, etc., we continued our route to his capital, about seven miles, through an immense concourse of people. The miserable huts as we entered were crowded, roofs and all, and it appeared to me miraculous how the elephants on which we were mounted avoided the multitude of beggars, for the most part blind, that threw themselves before us. As we advanced the town grew better, similar bands of music continued to serenade us as we passed along, with groups of nautch girls dancing. I never saw such a mass of people. On our arrival about 300 yards from the palace gate the street grew wider and many of the buildings were covered with gold and silver tissue. After passing through the magnificent gate a splendid and elegant display of architecture exhibited itself, mosques and pavillions of singular and beautiful forms, it is altogether an immense place. We entered the apartments destined for us immediately after breakfast. I fixed on one in the corner of which I am now writing. The dimensions of the whole are so uncommon that I have just paced it with wide steps. I counted 80, and these were certainly yards. It appears square and supported by arches which form squares of about 20 yards but the partitions are made by cloth rolled up or let down like curtains. As I occupy a corner one of my windows looks into a large pond surrounded by stone steps and the other looks into a garden laid out in parterres, with little pavillions in it. Near my apartment are hot baths which I have just made use of to cleanse me from the dust of the morning. The Nabob begged hard that we might take up our residence in his palace, although the Resident had prepared a comfortable house for us. In my immense apartment there is nothing but a casket covered with white cloth and two or three low beds

with large pillows but in the rooms which I have made by letting down the curtains I have placed what my tent supplied me with, all that is necessary for my comfort.

* * * Yesterday morning I strolled round the gardens which are shady, and from the circumstance of running water conducted through all the avenues it has an air of freshness. We breakfasted with the Nabob in a large marble hall, after breakfast the trays were displayed and here I got another showl and such a one as I believe I could not procure elsewhere. From this he carried us to a place when he displayed before us some European carriages, fine horses, a richly howdered elephant thirteen feet high and finally embroidered palanquins. After this I went to visit General Martine whose house is a singular curiosity. The external architecture bids defiance to any relationship with the fine orders. It is charmingly situated on the banks of the Goonty which river in the rainy season rises about 16 feet, and entirely fills one set of apartments. The whole is secured by the strongest masonry and when the season approaches he takes his furniture out and occupies two stories above these which are built over the river on an arch supported by a pier which reaches about one-fifth across the river. When the water falls to the level which it occupies about eight months in the year the lower apartments are exactly even with the river which still runs fast and limpid, and look out under the arch which supports the upper story. These apartments are filled with mud annually, but are annually painted and decorated. The history of this General Martine is too long, he is however a very good fellow (a Swiss). He has lived here twenty years and has been 30 years in India. He is worth now from three to four millions of pounds sterling. The upper apartments are splendid, the walls covered with the largest mirrors I ever saw, and from the ceiling as many lustres as could be disposed of with elegance all of the best and most splendid kind that our manufacturers have produced. In these apartments about 40 Europeans dined yesterday among whom were eight or nine ladies. Many of these were officers here on Sir John's account, fifteen hundred additional troops having been ordered to march here to give dignity to our arrangements, the rest were the people settled here. In the evening a very beautiful display of fire works was let off immediately opposite on the bank of the river, and in the middle, at the conclusion after the representation of a splendid temple, a boat was placed from whence issued an immense fountain of fire. This country is the Etna of fire works and although these were the finest I ever saw the General apologized for them, he had not had time for better. He seemed to think them contemptible and told me I should, after seeing the display which the Nabob means to give us. This fête ended by a ball and a supper, but I preferred sleeping on the impression of the fire works * * * To-day the Nabob breakfasted with

us and the ceremony of the trays was performed, all of which he took away as usual. We have rooms with fountains in the middle of them throwing up water into spray. There are also apartments of singular construction, in a well about 20 feet in diameter and about 30 feet deep, the rooms are dug in from the sides of the well. I think there are four stories, the lowest of which is on a level with the water which is constantly drawn up and let down again in spray or mist. Here I think the hot winds cannot penetrate, and if we remain here during the season, which is probable, I shall take up my residence about the centre, for it may be unhealthy lower. Near this is a place of worship. It forms a very large quadrangle one side of which consists of a room which I measured with seventy wide paces. There are two rooms at each end about a third as large and this I think makes up the whole length of one side. The external architecture I cannot describe, but it is grand and striking. The great room is eighteen of my paces wide and about double this height, from the ceiling are suspended about 200 chains to which on a certain Mohammedan festival are suspended the finest chandeliers England can produce. This illumination I should suppose in real brilliancy would exceed that of Santa Rosalia at Palermo, the blaze of which I have only also seen. At Constantinople I was obliged to bribe high only for peeping, here I walked boldly on into the very sanctum sanctorum, taking care however not to give offence. But these people are not so superstitious as the Turks, yet many of the difficulties there proceed from down-right insolence and here we are almost masters, at least sufficiently so to repress any conduct approaching towards impertinence.

The side which joins this is made up of a mosque with three domes, the largest in the middle. This is altogether as magnificent and elegant a building as I ever saw, the architecture is Saracenic and highly ornamented, the friezes however are many of them almost wholly Grecian, the compartments with which the façade is decorated, the fine projections, the rich foliage and the highly worked bands form altogether a grand display of architectural ornament. This side consists of two rows of arches, through the perspective of which the country and the river appear like fairie land, and these arches at just distances support these three rooms. The other side I had not this morning time to go into, opposite is a splendid gate way and a façade of singular elegance.

The sight of this place has almost determined me to visit Agra, you must have seen many representations of the famous Taj Mahal, it is about 200 miles from hence, but in this country 200 miles is considered as a stride. The Nabob has an immense collection of every article, common or uncommon of every description that ever was made in England. The part of Cox's museum is here, all the valuable part.

Here we go on with something new every day. Yesterday the Nabob had us breakfast in a new pavillion over 30 feet square wholly inlaid with mother of pearl and the columns of looking glass. We go away before the hot winds, the mode of travelling has been fixed. From the Goomty to the Gogra is about 40 miles, and as there are no boats on it suitable for our comfort the Nabob means to order over land as many swift rowing boats as will accommodate the party. We have read of the transportation of fleets in this manner formerly and I shall like to see it actually accomplished.

* * To-day business begins. Our anxiety for the salvation of his country you may suppose is not wholly disinterested, if it goes on much longer under the present system he will not be able to pay our tribute. I have no doubt if he can be kept from the prejudices, villanies and bigotry of those who surround him, and the consequences of a better mode of Government fully proved to him that he will be induced to adopt it; but if he will not be coaxed into it he must be treated like a forward child who ultimately finds the good from just correction. Yet if the most gentle coercion were made use of it might one day or other be a subject for preaching about in the House of Commons. * *

"This morning I rode round the palace which exhibits from the opposite side of the river a very picturesque appearance, the golden minarets and domes peeping over the richest foliage. I went to see another palace of the Nabob's, built of stone and within its apartments a bath, the floor of which is inlaid marble and precious stones of inferior quality. I used to frequent this kind of bath as a luxury after dinner. I found this, however, exhaust me too much, but now and then it is salutary. The day before yesterday I was surrounded by ten naked men in one of them, who pinched, kneaded and scrabbled so that my skin must be perfectly free of every obstruction. I should like to see myself represented in the various attitudes these fellows place you in, so that every muscle shall be stretched and I assure you there is something formidable in being left at the mercy of such number of brawny fellows striding over one and pulling one about in all directions. I easily accommodate myself however to the customs of all countries and remain perfectly passive. I have been in the habit of daily bathing and taking a rough towel to scrub myself, but it is really extraordinary to observe the quantity of impurities these people take off from you.

"Lucknow, March 3rd. The negotiations are going on between Sir John and the Nabob, and, as an ancient custom among themselves and as a ceremony which he had before gone through with Sir John's predecessor, he begged to exchange hats with him. Accordingly this farce was performed this morning. Sir John's hat was decorated with the accustomed jewels, and the Nabob had a turban of state prepared for the occasion, and these they

exchanged. The Nabob looked like a fat butcher who had taken his wig off and put his hat upon his bald pate, finding however the hat too small for him he had it tied on, and then looked like an old fish woman going over Hale down on a windy day, the metamorphosis was equally ridiculous on Sir John, but I have no simile for him. There is nothing absurd about this between themselves, and they consider it very sacred and binding. The Nabob's two sons however could not refrain from smiling, although a command of countenance is among the first principles of their education. * * *

"Afterwards I went to visit General Martine and whilst I sat with him looking at some caricatures just arrived from Europe, a man came in, and delivered to him with great volubility the news of the Court. Soon after this another arrived with the common news of the town, these are the newspapers of this country one of whom is kept by every native that can afford him; and this gentleman has been long enough here to acquire most of their manners. * * * My own dearest S. I yesterday cried and laughed myself into a situation almost exhausted at the perusal of your dear letters from May 29th to July 9th: these are not the letters sent by Charles, who I believe is arrived—I trust he has letters of a month later * * * About him (his little son) about you, about home, about the cottage and our future happiness I could write forever. I could comment on every line of your letters, but while I am here you must have the history of my daily occupations. * * * We were yesterday regaled with an elephant fight. His fury is worked up to the highest degree by temptation on one side and insult on the other, then he is shewn another male who has been irritated in the same manner and the instant they discover each other they rush together with terrible violence. After this first onset they grapple and gore with their tusks, and I have one now lying before me which I saw yesterday broken off in the fight. It may be about half the tusk, about 20 inches long and three inches in diameter; conceive the force that could break such a solid mass of ivory. The combat does not last long and when one runs they let off fireworks against the victor to prevent pursuit. This mode of attack he never resists. It is an amusement to these Semi-barbarians, but attended with much danger, for if the horsemen that provoke them should be thrown, or their horses fall inevitable death would be the consequence. Their drivers also remain on their backs and urge those who are in doubt or fear to battle. An animated multitude is always an interesting sight, and one rarely philosophizes at the moment—I think it was worth seeing once. Cockfighting is a favourite amusement of His Excellency, in short he has everything about him as one of our ancient barons had 500 years ago. * * *

"I know nothing of what is going on in Calcutta. * * I have little doubt that there is now a peace with France. Tell James that the Nabob

swallows daily an ounce and a dram of opium. I saw him shew Sir John what we afterwards weighed, his daily dose.¹

[Here follows a sheet entirely devoted to longing for his wife and child, speculations how much longer the enforced separation must last before they have saved enough to live in a cottage in Devonshire, and regret that the necessity for strict economy had prevented her from sending him a picture of the son whom he had never seen.]—"Give me credit for some—I was going to write a word which at that moment was put to the test—a man has just been with me to offer me eighty thousand gold mohurs—a gold mohur according to the present exchange is just worth two pounds—For this I was literally to do nothing, only refrain from doing injury. I said from motives of curiosity, that I had no influence one way or the other. This did not signify. The money was at my service if I chose to receive it, and the sole negociation was to put my hand to my nose as I passed the person that would give it to me. I have had another offer to-day of twelve thousand a year to be paid in England beside a considerable sum of money down—this arrangement could be concluded without the knowledge of a third person. I have, of course, acquainted Sir John with the offer and it has so far been advantageous as to give him another clue to the entangled thread of their politics. The man would have given me the money in any mode I should have pointed out, either in a draft for the whole at Calcutta or in money or jewels here. I shall consider it as an offering of gratitude to Sir John's reputation!* The offer may be known, but the refusal will never be believed. Mum to every body—as our hearts beat in union I have only touched the string that your's may vibrate, and as I mean, now, to be a great deal prouder, if you like it you may be so too. I flatter myself I can now give an illustrious example to young George, as well as a lecture—he shall be the most perfect being that ever the world saw! * * * Dear, dear home. I wander over all the beautiful spots about Sidmonth * * * This separation, my dearest soul, is dreadful.

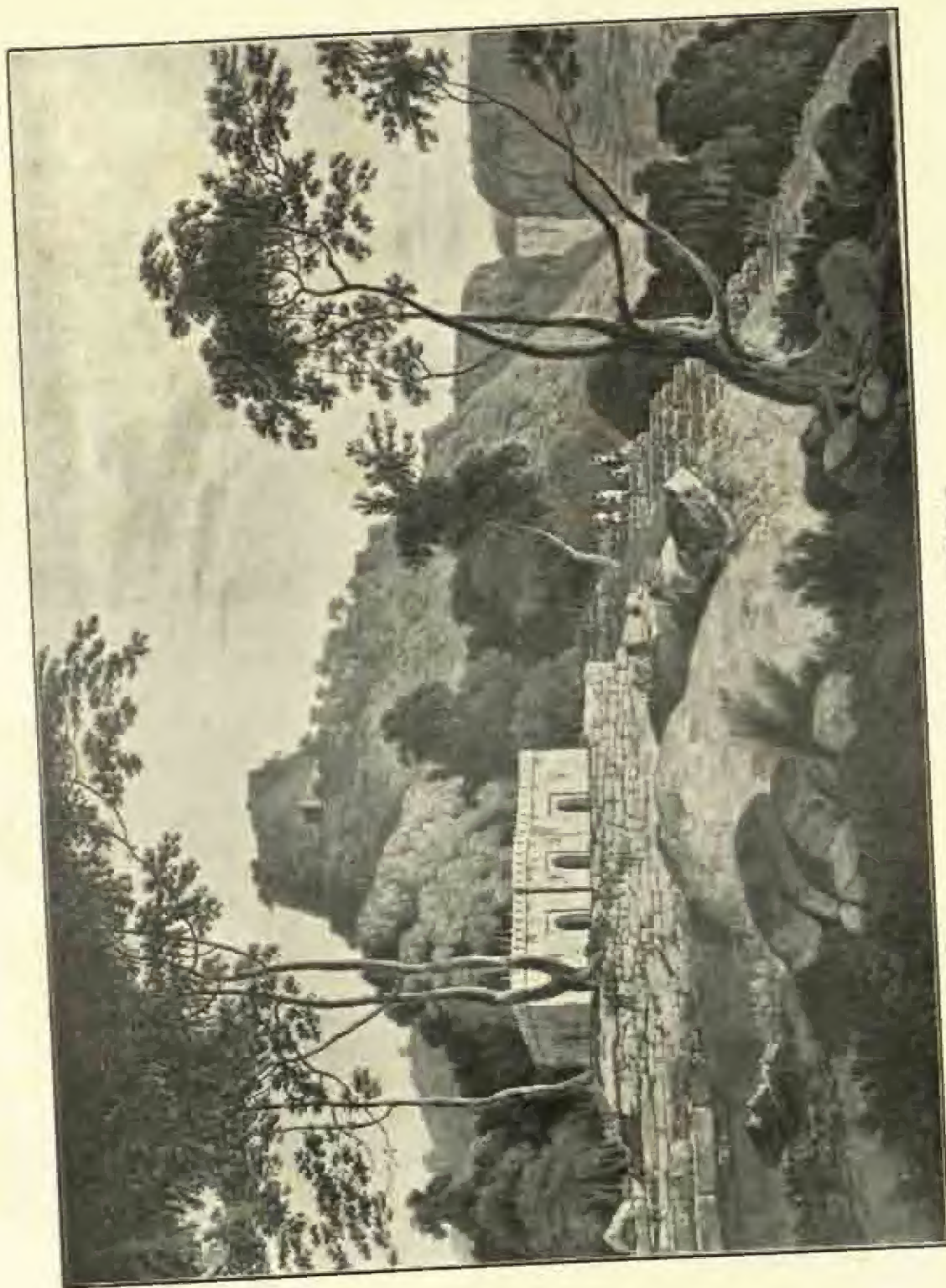
"April. We shall soon depart, and I fancy I shall be a hundred pounds out of pocket by this trip, instead of being a hundred and sixty thousands pounds richer which I might have been by holding up my finger. * * * I propose leaving this the day after to-morrow, two days before Sir John as my mode of travelling, for the sake of seeing all I can, will not be so expeditious. Sir John and the Nabob travel post—His Excellency now says he owes his salvation to Sir John. At Fyzabad his mother resides, after that separation takes place: we go by boat to Patna, and from Patna we only travel by night. Sir John, having settled the affairs here, has now leisure to think of home.

* Sir John was known in India as "Honest John Shore".

* * * " Calcutta. May—Accounts have just arrived that the peaceful negotiations at Paris have ceased, and that the days of war are again let loose. The wars of modern Europe have hitherto been nothing more than a contest between those that are hired for the purpose of killing each other, but this involves every individual, it comes home to our hearths. We formerly paid our taxes and grumbled; but this personally affects us all; it is extraordinary and probably unparalleled, yet as it is altogether monstrous I have no doubt but it must soon end, as nothing unnatural can long exist, and I verily believe that every conquest of the French is a state to their existence and that whilst we possess our glorious floating empire that we had better make use of it a year longer—it is so long since the French had a ship at sea that the very rudiments of seamanship will be lost among them, and I am not a bit afraid of Frenchmen conquering Germans when it becomes a contest between the people of each. Although the French have lately again been victorious in Italy yet now that the Italians have begun to fight I have not the least shadow ultimately of the total discomfiture of the French: at any rate if we must go on it is a great consolation that we do it with zeal, and this is pretty well proved by the sum of money so readily subscribed.

" All within the empire here is right, the rascals are in the minority. It is impossible that the Spaniards and French can cope with us at sea so that there is no danger of invasion here. * * * We must bear it, my dearest S. Peace and love can find no hiding place in such days, and whilst we are on the stage let us endeavour to play our part well. * * * Look as much as possible on the bright side of the question, but always consider that I am a soldier, and that there is still a war and whilst this lasts it is impossible even that you could wish me to retire. * * * Is not respect the foundation of love? In your more quiet moments would it not have occurred to you that at such a time such a life, however exquisite, however delightful, would have been wrong? Your reflections on Major—'s conduct are dispassionate, and would have equally applied to me. No, my heart, whilst the war rages you must not reckon on it. I cannot help it. I have no power of decision. I am a soldier and cannot run away. * * * My heart is as full of love as the day I left you. Rarely a night passes but I dream of you and I may literally say that you are never absent from my thoughts. Forever your's

G. C.



VIEW OF FORT RHOTAS.
BY T. DANIELL.

Rhotas in 1772-73.

ONE of the most delightful expeditions within an easy distance from Calcutta is a visit to the historical hill-fort of Rhotas. The journey will be made by the E. I. R. Chord to Dehri-on-the-Sone, and from thence to the foot of the hill by Messrs. Octavius Steel and Co.'s light railway. Starting from the Inspection Bungalow the traveller will do well to make the ascent (1,500 feet) towards the cool of evening, but taking care to allow time to arrive at the Dāk Bungalow on the plateau on the top before it gets dark. The Dāk Bungalow is over a mile from the place at which the ascent is completed. There is no khansamah, and drinking water must be brought up the hill by the traveller's coolies.

It is not proposed in the present paper to attempt a description of Rhotas or to discuss its ancient history, but only to place on record two papers relative to its condition in the years 1772-73. In 1769, Rhotas was nominally the head-quarters of one of the English Supervisors, but that Official seems to have resided at Sasaram. On 19th June, 1773, Henry Palmer, the Supervisor, writes to inform the authorities at Calcutta that he had taken possession of the fortress, and asks leave to build quarters there for the garrison. In the following August, we find Alexander Ducanson, the Assistant Supervisor, at work on a bangalow. In September, a portion of the 2nd Brigade was established at Rhotas under the command of Lieutenant Patrick Hay, but we read in the records of a great storm reducing to ruins the Collector's house, the Hospital, and Guard-room. In the same month Palmer made over charge of his district to Mr. William Pye. Here are the two letters:—

PATNA.

The 3rd September, 1772.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

President and Governor and Council of Fort William.

HON'BLE SIR & SIRS,

The Fortress of Rhotas being a place of great natural strength, we beg leave to transmit you a description and plan of it taken by Captain Richards, who has lately surveyed it. It was formerly reckoned to be of so much consequence that it was garrisoned by troops sent immediately from Delhi independent of the Nazir of the Bahar Province, but of late it has been

entirely uninhabited and neglected. Should it ever fall into the hands of an enemy, it would be scarcely possible to dislodge them, and must consequently be attended with the desolation of the adjacent country. The principal use of it in our possession would be its serving as a retreat for the inhabitants with their cattle and effects in case of troubles.

We are,
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient humble servants,
GEORGE VANSITTART.
E. STEPHENSON.
EWAN LAW.

PATNA,
The 23rd June, 1772.

TO GEORGE VANSITTART, ESQ.
Chief of Patna.

SIR,

Pursuant to your directions, I proceeded to Rhotas, and, as well as my time would admit of, have described the outline of that Fortress as by the plan accompanying* remarks as follows.

Rhotas is a hill whose attitude is about 300 yards above the level of the country. It is a part of the Western Hills to which it is connected by a neck of land 144 yards over. The Terreplin of Rhotas is rock hills and vallies with some plain, on which there is a small depth of soil which has been cultivated. There are also some woods and springs in and up the gullies. There are only four known entrances, *vis*, 1 Raj, 2 Munra, 3 Bynee, and 4th Curpouttea gauts or gates. Bynee gate is wall'd up by a wall 30 feet high with outside, but filled up within to within 5 feet of the top which forms a breast work with loop hole. The Raj and Munra Gauts are difficult of access, the road being very steep and rocky, which is entirely commanded by the lines on the hill, which lines wherever constructed are on the edge of the precipice whose direction they follow, and about the gates especially fortified with loop holes. There are two breast works below these gauts but are in part fallen down as is also part of the lines above mentioned. The whole extent from Bynee round to Munra, Raj and Curpouttea (Gauts excepted) is entirely precipice, and the water in the rains falls from their courses from the summit of the precipice in a sheet. From Curpouttea to Bynee wherever there is least appearance of access from below rather wall or breast-work it

* The plan has not been preserved.

is not altogether a precipice though nearly so, and the whole descent covered with woods that not only here but the whole circums..... being declivity precipices excepted.

The Curpoutea gate is defended by a dry ditch cut in the rock depth 19 feet and in breadth 18 fathoms, its extremities a precipice. Here are two lines fortified in the country stile: the lower one on the scarps of the ditch, which commands the level ground in front of the ditch, the upper line commands the whole neck of land for about 1200 yards, which distance it is apparently made on a level with the rising ground of the western hills. Both these lines are weak and in part fallen down. The thickness of the upper line, being only 10 feet and of the lower one about 3 feet rampart: their parapets with loop holes about 2½ feet thick. There is a flanking battery for the guns, and this is the only part whose rampart will admit of ordnance. There is also another line in the rear of this about 400 yards which commands the above lines and is on a level with the western hills. This line has no flanks, has loop holes, but is partly fallen down. The Palace is solely of stone, and at no great expence might be made quarters for a larger number of officers than ever would be thought wanting for the garrison, as well granarys or store houses. The water is very good and the springs always flow. The walls being neglected are fitted up one or two excepted: It was formerly well inhabited, but by those only who had dependence on the garrison.

On the whole Rhotas is a post of great natural strength. The weakest parts about the Gaunts and the weakest of these the Curpoutea. Part of that extent from Curpoutea to Bynce is not altogether a precipice, but if accessible it must be attended with the greatest difficulty, but the clearing away the woods on the declivity and repairing part of the old line carrying any probability of approach must render this extent impregnable.

I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient Humble Servant,

W. RICHARDS,

Capt., Eng. Service.

A true copy.

SHEARMAN BIRD,

Secretary.

A Note on Jean Baptiste Chevalier and Colonel de Montigny.

IN 1737, there was a Chevalier (Antoine) in Chandernagar. He is described as an "aubergiste" or inn-keeper. He purchased a large brick-built house, evidently for his trade, for which there must have been a good scope, Chandernagar then being in the hey-day of its prosperity under Dupleix. The man from whom he purchased the house was one Buffekens, an Armenian merchant. The name of "Nicolas Antoine Chevalier, le fils" occurs in two papers, both dated the 24th May 1767; he is described as a "négoceant demeurant ordinairement à Calcutta, actuellement au sud de la loge." The two Chevaliers were most probably father and son—and it was the father who offered his house to the Company for 700 pagodas when it was proposed to remove the Church of the Capuchin fathers from the proximity of the fort. The letter, dated the 2nd August 1739, from the Pondichery Council to the Council at Chandernagar, contains the following:

"Ayant besoin des maisons d'un nommé Chevalier, qui est actuellement chez vous, pour bâtir l'Eglise des Reverands Pères Capucins, que nous ferons éloigner du fort, et dont il demande 700 pagodes, comme vous le verrez par sa lettre cy-jointe, ce prix nous paraît un peu fort: vous en traiterez avec lui, n'ayant nommé icy personne à cette effet, et nous en remettrez l'acte de vente, que vous en ferez passer au nom de la Compagnie, et lui payerez le prix convenu."

There is nothing, however, that I have been able to find that would establish any connection between the "aubergiste" and his son, and Jean Baptiste Chevalier of history.

The earliest trace of Chevalier is found in "Correspondence de Conseil supérieur de Pondichery." Vol. III, page 191, in a despatch to the Council at Chandernagar, dated Pondichery the 24th August 1752.

"Nous vous faisons passer le sieur Chevalier en qualité de commis de second ordre, à qui vous ferez payer ses appointments à compter du 16 Juillet dernier, n'ayant rien reçu ici."

Chevalier must have reached Chandernagar in the course of September 1752, as second class clerk whose regulation pay was only 800 rupees per annum.

The next mention of Jean Baptiste Chevalier, Ecuyer, Conseiller du Roy in Chandernagar, is found in a paper dated 22nd January 1755, in which he ratifies a power of attorney signed by him while in France in favor of his father Jean Baptiste Chevalier of Blois on 8th November 1751. This latter document opens thus: "Fut present M. Jean Baptiste Chevalier Ecuyer, Seigneur de Nanteil, mineur Emancipé par lettres de bénéfice d'âge, bien et dûement Entheriné au baillage et siege presidéal de Blois. demt. au dt. Blois, En la maison de Mr. Jean Baptiste Chevalier Ecuyer, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils et son Avocat General en la Chambre des Comptes à Blois y demeurant Paroisse Saint Solenne, son père.....auquel il donne pouvoir de pour luy et à son nom pendant son absence Etant prest de partir pour l'Inde au service de la Compagnie des dites Indes, Regir, Gouverner et Administrer tous les Biens qui lui appartiennent de la succession de defunct Dame Marie Catherine de la Saussay sa mère."—This "procuration" was passed in his minority in France, and the Chandernagar document dated 22nd January 1755, mentions that he has attained the age of 25 and recommends the "division" of his material estate with his sister Marie Catherine Elisabeth Chevalier.

On the day that Chandernagar fell (23rd March 1757), Chevalier was away to the King of Assam, and Courtin was anxiously expecting him at Dacca. This was not his first excursion into Assam. In 1755 he had penetrated into that country as far as Sylhet and returning by way of Goalpara, he had founded in the latter place a factory which was not restored to the French in 1763. The story of his peregrinations with Courtin is told in Mr. Hill's "Three Frenchmen in Bengal." When Courtin and his companions came back to Chandernagar "the majority of the French inhabitants had already been sent to the Madras coast." It appears, however, that Courtin and his comrades were not made to follow suit, at least for some time; for Chevalier is mentioned in a correspondence between W. B. Sumner, English Chief at Dacca and Warren Hastings, (1759) as being one among others "usurping the English name" (*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. 2, p. 390.) The caustic letter of Chevalier, there quoted, suggests that he was out doing business under an assumed name, or what is known in Bengali "benami."

Then we lose sight of him altogether till the beginning of the year 1764, Chandernagar had been formally restored to the French by the Treaty of Paris (10th February 1763), but it was not actually taken possession of till the 19th of June 1765. On 15th February 1764, Chevalier hires a large house on the south of the "loge" on Rupees 100 per month. The house was badly in need of repairs having suffered greatly during the bombardment of the town. The owner one "Dame Daguain, veuve de Sr. Denis" undertakes to restore it "ou il était avant la destruction de cette colonie."

In the contract for the above house, Chevalier is described merely as "un employé de la Compagnie," and like all the servants of the Company with any money to spare, he carried on business on his own individual account. He was trader, money-lender, banker, and even underwriter for marine insurance. On 1st December 1764 Chevalier underwrites merchandise valued at 30,000 Arcot rupees shipped by Francois Leon Brayer and Jacques Gourlade, per *Grey Hound*, Captain Corry, leaving Calcutta for Goa. The Assurance is to cover all risks, on all vessels which would carry Brayer and Gourlade with the above merchandise to Lisbon *via* Brazil. Chevalier receives Rs. 2400 @ 8 per cent. as his insurance premium, subject to any fluctuations in the rate which Andrew and John Moffat or Scott and Springle, Bankers of London, may subsequently determine. The capital also is advanced by Chevalier on condition that Brayer and Gourlade would pay it up with 25 per cent. of the profits within three months of the landing of the goods at Lisbon. The rate of exchange is fixed at 1 Arcot rupee = 50 sols. of France.

On 15th March 1765, Chevalier "étant sur le point d'embarquer pour les Manilles et la Chine, et desirant mettre order à ses affaires et à celles dont il seroit administrateur," appoints Charles Playdel and Pierre Galopin, residents of Calcutta, his attorneys. They are required to submit their accounts to Pierre Renault, *ex-Governor* of Chandernagar and Claude Ogerdian merchant of Chinsurah. Chevalier was to sail by the *St. Jacques* but the voyage did not come off, and he became liable to George Louis Vernet, Director of Dutch Commerce at Chinsurah, for a heavy sum. Vernet, who was even a bigger money lender at the time than Chevalier, had advanced to the latter the sum of 29,906 Arcot rupees "à la grosse, sur le vaisseau *St. Jacques* allant de Bengale à Manille" (22nd March 1765). For this sum, combined with the "grosse" at 20 per cent. amounting to Rs. 7,981-8 as. to which was added 9 per cent. interest from the day the vessel was to have come back to port, Chevalier became liable. In December 1767 Chevalier borrowed from Vernet Rs. 64,000 at 9 per cent. on a note of hand signed at "Garatti." In February 1770, Chevalier and Fromaget take jointly a loan of 66,521 Arcot rupees from Vernet at the same rate of interest. In March 1770 Chevalier meets all these liabilities by handing over to Ant. Hardy and Lucas Cramer, attorneys for Vernet, a cheque upon Sumner and Gregory, of London.

On 27th December 1765, Chevalier lends 5,587 Arcot rupees—equivalent to 13,967 liv. 10 sols in French money at a liv. 10 sols a rupee, to Jacques Fitz-Simon, almoner on board the *Duc de Praslin*, Cap. Surville. Fitz-Simon pledges to Chevalier against this money, a quantity of letters of exchange and drafts which show that the priest was also a merchant.

On 10th February 1766, Ziegelbalg, formerly Director General of the

Dutch Company, makes a declaration to the effect "que les marchandises qu'il embarque sur le vaisseau *la Dour* en vertu du Port Permis qui luy a été accordé par le Conseil y l y a vingt balles marquées de la lettre Z numérotées depuis et compris le numero 26 jusque et compris le numero 45 qui sont et appartient en entier à M. J. B. Chevalier et achetées de ses seuls fond et deniers moyennant la somme 45046 roupies, 2 anas 10 gondas Arcate." The above merchandise was to be sold by Ziegelbalg and the profits shared equally by him and Chevalier. Ziegelbalg's own part of the consignment was valued at 1,44,860 Rs. *La Dour* was a vessel of the French Company, Captain Geslin de Chateaulur.

On 13th August 1769, the "Compagnie des Indes" ceased to exist. A royal decree published on that date suspended their exclusive privilege of trade with the Indies, which thence forward became absolutely free and open to all. The Comptoirs in India retained their staff which passed into the service of the King, and the Comptoirs became Royal Colonies; the merchant men of the Company formed part of the Royal Marine. The natural consequence of this falling off of the shackles to trade was a great increase in the commerce with Europe as well as in the trade within the Indies by private merchants and companies of merchants. From 1769 to 1777 altogether 187 private vessels with a tonnage varying from 300 to 900, left Port l'Orient in France for India; two-thirds of these vessels returned to Europe carrying, on an average, cargo valued at 11 millions livres per year. Of the remaining one-third, some were lost and the rest were sold up to private merchants in India for want of a return cargo, for which the shippers failed to provide funds.⁽¹⁾

In India private companies were started; Chevalier himself launched vigorously into business either single-handed or in joint-stock with Law and others. Pierre Verlee, Armand Julien Sinfray, Pierre Mathieu Renault de St Germain, ex-Governor, carried on extensive trade during this period. No less than three companies were floated in 1777, just a year before Chandernagar was to change hands for the second time. Jean Monneron, Jean Fresquet and Jean Baptiste de Solminiac formed a company with a capital of 20,000 Arcot rupees. Monneron, the banker, supplied the capital. Jean Marquet of Calcutta and Nicola Mongoux of Chandernagar chartered a vessel called the *Elizabeth* and sent it to the Isle of France and Bourbon with a cargo of sugar, rice, and other things. It was stipulated in the agreement that the association would last for the period of the voyage to the islands and back, unless otherwise agreed to. This was the nature of most of the associations of the kind; they were partnerships for a particular undertaking

(1) Weber: *La Compagnie Française des Indes*, page 620.

only and came to an end with the undertaking itself. Jean Marguet and Antoine Point "Armateurs and Supercargue du Vaisseau *Le Cera Blanc*" formed an association for trade with the islands of France and Bourbon. During this period Chandernagar displayed a marked revival in commercial activity. It was the last flicker of the lamp before it went out for ever in July of the following year.

This temporary prosperity of Chandernagar was partly due to a fortuitous advantage that the merchants and bankers of Chandernagar obtained from a circumstance narrated in Marshman's *History of Bengal* (pp. 222-23).

In October 1769, on making up the accounts, the Governor of Calcutta found a large deficit; money had to be borrowed; a part of the plan to raise money was to make Company's servants deposit their fortunes in the Company's treasury against orders on the Court of Directors in London. The Directors had no means of meeting the drafts, so they ordered the borrowing of money in Calcutta. "The consequence was that their servants began to remit their fortunes to Europe, through the French, the Dutch, and the Danes; that is to say they paid their funds into the treasuries of Chandernagar, Chinsurah and Serampore, and received orders upon the different Companies in Europe. These funds were laid out in goods which generally arrived in Europe and were sold before the drafts became due. By these means the foreign settlements had no want of funds for trade while the English Company was pinched to the last degree."

In July 1769, the newly formed Council of Chandernagar excavated three main drains, one about 294 metres and another 488 metres in length, and smaller drains on either side of the principal streets of the town. It was in execution of this drainage scheme that Chevalier excavated the "digue d'enceinte" which was to take off the outflow from the drains of the town. This looked suspicious in the eyes of the Council at Calcutta and led to a serious "malentendu" as recorded by Stavorinus. The incident is also referred to in Auber's *British Power in India*, vol. I p. 199.

On 22nd October 1770, Chevalier purchased on behalf of the Council of Chandernagar a vessel *Le Vigilant* from its Captain M. Montout for Rs. 8,000 Arcot. The vessel was armed with 9 4-pounders and was before Chandernagar, at the moment of sale.

On 27th May 1771, the Council of Chandernagar, consisting of the following persons—Chevalier, J. Fanon, F. Nicola, Sinfray and Brin, make an exchange of a garden belonging to the Council and measuring 7 bigas and six cattas with an equal amount of land at Garati belonging to Krishna-prosad Chowdhri. The exchange was made evidently with the purpose of extending the grounds of the Park at Garati.

In March 1777, Chevalier and his Council farm out the revenues of

Chandernagar for a period of three years from April 1777 to April 1780, for Rs. 67,500—that is Rs. 22,500 per year payable in monthly instalments of Rs. 1,875 each. The Revenue Farmer was one "Gourou Pershat Chatodja," the son of a clerk in the *Cacherie*. In this connection it is interesting to compare these figures with those reached by Dupleix himself in the high tide of Chandernagar's prosperity. In 1740, revenues were farmed out for 15,500 Rs. Sicca per year. In 1732 the figures stood at 12,000 rupees only per year.

This was about all the sign of life that I can trace in the official activities of the newly constituted administration.

Chevalier's personal ventures were not confined to India alone. In 1770, he obtained a "concession" of land in the Isle of France from the Government. He appointed a representative in the island to cultivate it, and lay it out into an orchard for which he authorised his representative to employ "autant de noirs et autre personnes qu'il avisera bon être."

In 1773 (10th February), Chevalier sells the *Heureuse Marie* called a "senau," that is a vessel with two masts, for Rs. 3,000 Arcot with all its cargo valued at Rs. 9,000 to Antoine Meirac and Hyacinthe.

On 19th March 1770, Chevalier invests "à grosse aventure" with Le Fort de la Lande, Captain of the vessel *La Digue*, going to Manilla and China, a sum of Rs. 16,135 Arcot at 25 per cent. "grosse," subject to an increase of 1 per cent. if a whole year passes before the vessel is back to Chandernagar, which again would be doubled if war was declared after that period.

Chevalier, Law and others had formed a joint stock company; Chevalier advanced Rs. 32,000 Arcot to Delessert frères and Dangereux "pour l'intérêt que Mondit Sr Chevalier prend en compte à demi avec Monsieur Law Gouverneur de Pondichery dans l'armement de deux vaisseaux *Le Gange* et *l'Aiguillon*" (1774).

In 1772 (22nd February), Chevalier, Law and Company sell to the Council at Chandernagar, the entire cargo of the vessel *Le Gange* for 436,987 Rupees 2 annas 34 gondas. The sum is paid by the Council in "billet de grosse à 20 pour cent." The cargo was destined for Europe and the premium of 20 per cent. covered all risks.

In 1777 (21st March), Chevalier lends 27,920 lv. 4 sols. 9 deniers on the security of valuable property to Louis Marc Anthonie Marquez de Valory "Major d'infanterie and Capitaine de Grenadiers." In November of the same year, J. B. Chevalier and François Massé Chavalier de Vandoré, Captain of the *Aimable Marie* each contribute Rs. 42,689-4-17 gondas towards the freighting of the vessel with a suitable cargo.

I have given above all the transactions of Chevalier, both on his own behalf and that of the Council, of which I have found a trace among the papers in Chandernagar. Both his private and public acts, had to face a good deal of obstruction from the Council at Calcutta. In September 1765, Law wrote, owing to the ill-treatment of his merchants by the native agents of the English, he was "in one of the most painful situations I ever felt." The reference to Chandarnagar in the letter of Pearse to a friend at Woolwich (1769) published in *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. II, page 311, though obscure, is sufficiently significant of the strained relations between Chevalier and the Government of Fort William. Three years after Law wrote, the situation was no better, shorn as the French were by the Treaty of Versailles of all military strength—which after all is the only secure foundation of unmolested and successful commerce. Chevalier wrote in a despatch to de Boigne, Minister of Marine and the Colonies—dated Chandernagar, the 6th September 1768: "L'on ne veut plus reconnaître nos privilèges, ou si l'on se les rappelle, c'est pour les abolir. Nos passeports n'ont plus de force; notre pavillon est insulté de tous côtés; nos bateaux, arrêtés et fouillés: (1) et l'on nous impose de Droits nouveaux, dont nous avons été exempts de tous temps. Le but d'une conduite si revoltante n'est plus douteux; l'on veut nous forcé renoncer au commerce, et c'est pour nous y engager qu'on cherche à le rendre impraticable. Les Anglais sentent bien qu'il serait indigent de faire paraître leur nom, dans la plupart de ces vexations. Ils empruntent celui du Nabob; c'est un serviteur à gages, contraint d'agir à leur gré. Ils viennent de lui faire publier une nouvelle défense qui nous interdit absolument toutes nos branches de commerce dans son pays: et tout Français qui pénètre sur ces terres pour y commercer est sur d'être enlevé et conduit dans les prisons. C'est en vain qu'on se plaint et qu'on demande justice. Les Anglais rejettent sur le Nabob, les iniquités qu'ils lui ordonnent, et dont il est revolté lui même; car dans le fond de son cœur, il est certain qu'il ne désire que nous favoriser. Enfin, la jalousie anglaise est parvenue à un point qui ne peut se concevoir. Nous avons ouvert une branche de commerce très considerable dans le royaume de Rajapour, dépendant du Nabob Sujah-Dawlah, Grand Vizir de l'Empire. Entragés de privilèges que ce Nabob nous avait accordés, et de la considération que nous avions acquise auprès de lui, ils l'ont menacé, et n'ayant pas réussi par ce moyen, ils ont trouvé le secret de faire abandonner pour près de deux millions de marchandises qu'elle était chargée de vendre dans le pays. Dans une pareille position, il est certain que nous n'avons plus rien à espérer, et que nous pouvons regarder l'Inde comme absolument

(1) This was done by boats flying the colours of the Nabob, but the search was actually made by British officers.

perdue pour nous. Il n'y a plus que du côté de l'Europe qu'il nous est possible d'obtenir un accommodement qui nous donne la liberté de notre commerce."

Similar complaints were made in every despatch to Europe but the minister did not answer one out of ten of them. Chevalier, on the other hand, kept up a heated correspondence with Warren Hastings, the omnipotent Proconsul of Calcutta, as he is called in the French papers, on the same theme; but on neither side did Chevalier succeed in making any perceptible impression. Failing these he tried a third course—that of rallying the country powers to the cause of France, in spite of France herself. In this also he was doomed to failure. He failed either because he had not the foresight of genius and the gift of leadership, or because the whirlpool of Indian politics of the time was too vast and chaotic to be grasped and directed by one single man, or because his antagonists had the lead of him and were better politicians and were stronger in the co-operation and support from their men at home, or for all these reasons combined. He failed, and was destined to go down to posterity as an intriguer—perhaps a very bold intriguer who loved his country too well.

He had his agents in all high places—in the Court of Sujah Dowla, with the Marhattas, with the Emperor of Shah Alam II, and the other princes. His agents were Gentil, a councillor in the confidence of Sujah Dowla; Visage,⁽¹⁾ a French surgeon with the same prince; Lionel du Jarjay in the Court of Delhi; and René Madec. "Janotgy," Bhonsla of Berar negotiated with Chevalier for 800 white soldiers to be stationed in his realm (Chevalier's letter to Versailles, 6th January 1771). He was in intimate relationship with Madhoji Sindhia (Chevalier's letter to Versailles, 28th February 1773). He had, thus, as close a touch with the country powers as was possible with the help of these agents, and he tried to impress upon them the greatness of France and rally them round to her cause.

Chevalier had a clear-cut plan on paper for the undoing of the English Company's power in India. In a letter to the Minister De Boigne dated the 6th January 1771, he set forth his plan of attack upon Bengal, the stronghold of the Company's rule. It resolved itself into an attack upon Fort William from the sea by means of a fleet, while an Imperial force to the aid of the Princes of India, the friends of France, would simultaneously descend the valley of the Ganges and invest the Fort from the land. This was the skeleton of the scheme for which he worked, and we will see later on how by tireless iteration and insistence he succeeded in dissipating the lethargy

(1) Like so many of the fortune-hunters, Visage had a strange career: a surgeon by profession, he was diplomat and military commander by turns; and finally finished his life as a pirate with his head-quarters at Goa, whence he along with a dozen Europeans scoured the seas from Bombay to Surat on board a French sloop—*Capitaine M. de la Butte*.

and indifference of the ministers who so far recognised the plausibility of his idea as to take the first steps, namely the establishment of direct diplomatic relationship with the Mahrattas, and the Court of Delhi.

Chevalier reiterated the necessity of strengthening the forces of the Emperor of Delhi with a corps of French troops, and the Minister De Boigne noted against the proposition of the Commandant of Chandernagar that a despatch of French troops to India would be the signal for a European War. Law de Lauriston, the then Governor of Pondichery, was of the same opinion. But when Chevalier suggested that there were scattered all over India French officers and veteran leaders of bands (called in French "Parti") of French soldiers fighting for their own hand; that these should be pressed into "the service of the nation," the same minister replied that it was the one thing possible under the circumstances which at the same time fell in with the policy of the King of France.

Chevalier kept the minister informed about all the kaleidoscopic changes that were taking place in the North and in the South of India—of the fall of Delhi into the hands of the Mahrattas, and of the victories of Hyder Ali over the English. The French Minister De Boigne wrote (8th August 1772) to Duc d'Aiguillon, President of the Council, with reference to the victories of Hyder Ali: "Cet événement peut avoir les suites les plus sérieuses pour les Anglais,....et il est important par cette raison de s'occuper de rétablissement des comptoirs de l'Inde de manière que la Nation puisse recueillir les débris de la Puissance des Anglais, s'ils éprouvent quelque revers."

It would be necessary here to give a brief account of the principle "Partis" which were in existence at the time in India.

Hügel, an Alsatian was with Hyder Ali at the head of a contingent of French troops. Gardé *alias* Bon Enfant with 400 French soldiers was with Bassalet Jung, Nabob of Adony, brother of Nizam Ali, Subah of the Deccan.

Colonel Gentil (Jean Baptiste), Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militaire de St. Louis (1) who was at one time in the service of Mir Kasim, was with Sujah Dowla and is described as "seul confident, conseil et bras droit de Nabab Sujah Dowla." Auber says (Vol. I, p. 201) "upon being urged to dismiss from his presence M. Gentil, according to the promise he had made to the Council, he stated, that if it was insisted upon, he should comply, but that, at the time when the hand of adversity was upon him, when all those whom he had clothed and fed forsook him, when he was abandoned by his own countrymen and by those of the same religion, this man, who was a stranger, of a different nation and different religion, forgot him not but

(1) He was in Chandernagar in February 1775.

partook of his misfortunes. What a reflection will it then be upon me, if I am obliged to chase this man from my dominions!" The Court of Directors, though appeased for the moment, again wrote to Bengal in their letter dated the 10th April 1771: (1) "As we cannot see a person of the abilities of M. Gentil (a natural enemy of this nation, as well as of the Company) continuing in possession of a power to promote the designs of France, and not be alarmed for the consequences of his influence at the Subah's Court, you must, therefore, lay hold of the first favourable opportunity to renew your request to Sujah Dowla, to remove M. Gentil from his service." In 1773, application was again made to the Vizir for the dismissal of M. Gentil, although Warren Hastings was of opinion that "the man has acquired importance from the notice taken of him, rather than from his real power to affect British interests." As a counterpoise a British resident was appointed to the Court of the Vizir.

Sombre "le premier Français au service de l'Empereur," was the richest free-lance of the time. His fortune amounted to three or four million francs: he had under him "deux ou trois cent Européens et deux ou trois mille cipayes" (Law). His "parti," which was very well disciplined, had 14 guns. In 1773, according to Modave, Sombre was 62, but "il a un serail fort au dessus de ses besoins." He died in 1778 "d'un rheum negligé." His life has been treated at great length elsewhere—which I do not think I need produce here.

Louis-Laurent Dolisy, Comte de Modave, (2) is a person whose name figures in the list of French free-lances, but of whom very little is known. "Moidavre, Crécy and du Drenec were gentlemen of character and experience, much more than a match for the bucolic Jats and Sombre's loafers." This is all that the writer of "the Great Anarchy" in the *Calcutta Review* has got to say about him. I give here a fuller account of him than will be found in any English notice of this strange personality. "C'est un bel esprit philosophe, ayant beaucoup lu, citant avec complaisance Montesquieu et M. de Voltaire, aimant à madrigaliser avec les Dames. Modave écrit avec distinction; on sent chez lui un militaire, et le noble de cour. Tous nos depots publics contiennent des papiers de lui, ou relatifs à lui. Il a fait une infinité d'entreprises. Après avoir servi en Allemagne et dans l'Inde, il devint Gouverneur de Madagascar et planteur aux Iles. Son plantation de l'île de France fut de tout ses desseins, celui qui lui fut le plus funeste. Il s'y endetta de telle façon, que des arrêts de contraintes par corps furent rendus contre lui.....Telle était sa situation, quand il revint, une fois de plus, dans l'Inde." Modave came to Chandernagar where he lived for about

(1) Auber—Vol. I, page 258.

(2) I have seen it spelt Maudave.

a year and left in September 1772. There was no love lost between him and Chevalier, who wrote of him: "Celui de tous qui m'a le plus surpris, c'est M. le Comte Modave, Chevalier de S. Louis, qui s'est éclipsé dernièrement ainsi, pour aller faire l'aventurier. S'il est arrêté par les Anglais, je ne crois pas devoir le réclamer; ce serait faire naître inutilement de soupçons contre moi. Et d'ailleurs il a perdu toute protection de sa nation, en se conduisant ainsi. Il faut cependant convenir que la misère qui le poignarde et les dettes dont il est écrasé, peuvent rendre cette conduite excusable" (15th November 1774). Modave took service with Suja-Dowla on Rs. 2,500 per month, but on the death of that prince was chased out of Fyzabad along with the rest of the company, and subsequently served under Najef Khan (1).

Dieu, (2) Captain of a vessel of the French Company was like the Comte de Modave in the service of Najef Khan after they were expelled by Mirza Moni. Aumont, a Captain of Dragoons, was a nephew of Dupleix. Soulier "chef d'un petit Parti" had two battallions under him at Fyzabad. Le Chevalier du Drenec was with Najef Khan. Du Lallec "chef d'un important parti Français au service de Nazim Ali dont il est l'appui, l'organ et le conseil."

There were quite a host of others whose names, I give below; some of them cut a more prominent figure than others; J. Aubert, Clemasin, Criscoll, de Kercao, Montmirel, la Martinière, de Cressi, Rozet, Pedron, La Genetais, Autier, Du Breteuil, Piquart, Brugeon, Fabre, Robert, Pillet, Calvé, La Sauvagère, Pauly, Le Vassoult.

To rally these derelicts to the cause of a country which many remembered but faintly and few hoped to return to, was no easy task. The oldest of these "partizans" was Sombre. If we are to believe the testimony of a brother of the same trade, namely Comte de Modave, there was no love lost between Chevalier and Sombre. Modave says: "Sombre se moque de Chevalier parce que ce dernier veut lui persuader pour se ranger des Anglais, d'avancer au Gouvernement Français 800,000 roupies à employer aux fortifications de Pondichéry." Parting with the "ducats" he had earned with his blood was too heavy a call upon his patriotism, even supposing he did look upon France as his "patrie." Chevalier had a hatred for the German. This coupled with the well-known character of Sombre, perhaps accounts for Chevalier not addressing Sombre, the oldest partizan in the country, when he wanted one of his countrymen in the court of Delhi, with a French force,

(1) Modave wrote a valuable record of his adventures in a "Mémoire"—which is to be found among the "Archives du Sous-Secrétariat d'Etat" in Paris. It is in manuscript and is called "Journal du voyage du Bengale à Delhi."

(2) Jean François Dieu, officer de vaisseaux, was in Chandernagar in January 1774. He became an auxiliary officer in the fleet of miffren; he was killed at the battle of Goodelour.

to stand by the Emperor and to act as an intermediary between himself and the Great Mogol. He discovered René Madec, who was at the time in the court of the Jat Raja of Dig.

René Madec, whose "party" was next to that of Sombre in point of seniority, has an interesting history. For the purposes of this article it is not necessary to go into the details of his life anterior to the time when Chevalier thought of him as a possible representative of the nation in the Court of Delhi. Suffice it to say here that after the fall of Pondichery on 14th January 1761, Madec was a prisoner in the hands of the English, and was kept confined in the prisons of Madras, along with others of his nationality. The sufferings of these prisoners of war were so great that they readily yielded to the offer of military service in Bengal, on the understanding that they would not be made to fight except against the Indians. Madec and his compatriots fought under Major Adams under the walls of Moxudabad and at Rajemahal (Gheria and Oodhuanala), and Patna. Then came the first sepoy war of 1764 which the French historian attributes mainly to arrears of pay for 22 months: the French mercenaries headed by Madec left the English camp, and marched northward till they came to the court of Sujah-Dowla, who received them "avec les marques de la plus haute faveur." Madec and his followers fought on the side of the Vizir and Emperor in the battle of Buxar, which was a defeat converted into a victory by Major Munro, says Madec in his *Memoirs*. In the treaty of Allahabad (16th August 1765), (1) the English stipulated that Sujah-Dowla should send away the French, including Sombre and Madec, from his service. By the end of the year Madec had gone over to the Rohillas: his "party" counted 400 men with 6 guns for the maintenance of which he received Rs. 10,000 per month. In 1767 he was with the Jats at Dig.

It was while Madec was in the service of the Jats at Dig (not the Raja of Gohd, who was a different potentate though of the same tribe) that Chevalier made his first overtures to him. On 2nd April 1771, Chevalier wrote his first letter to Madec to discover his attitude and gauge his feelings about the ever-shifting scenes in the great theatre of India where everyone of the actors were playing for high stakes. He told Madec that the life of an adventurer would lead him nowhere; he invited him to stand by his country and held out a promise of royal favour if Madec should "take the new road which will be marked out for him."

Madec, though not quite so "illiterate and ignorant" (2) as he has been represented to be, did not understand the hidden import of Chevalier's

(1) Gentil, on behalf of Sujah-Dowla, negotiated with General Carnac.

(2) Compton: *European Military Adventurers of Hindustan*, p. 371.

enigmatic letter. He only wrote back to say that he was so far away from Bengal that the chances of his rendering any service to the nation were very remote, all that he wanted was to go back to France, and he requested Chevalier to help him in securing a passport.

Chevalier's second letter to Madec written after about 9 months (20th January 1772) was more explicit. After congratulating Madec on the strength of his forces, which at this time amounted to 3,000 men with 12 guns, he breaks his project to him, and says how a judicious use of these forces may render immense service to the cause of the nation. "Our natural allies are the Marhattas who hold the Emperor in their hands. The true policy of France is to operate in concert with them, and the Mogol court and attack the English in Bengal. Your course lies in taking service with the great Mogal. Tell that prince that we have a force of 12,000 men in the Isle of France. Offer him the services of two to three thousand French soldiers from this little force; if only he should assure the payment of passage and pay; keep me always informed of local intrigues."

It is doubtful if Madec understood the drift of the second letter of Chevalier, for he replied vaguely to say that he was at the disposal of His Majesty the King of France and that at the first signal given he would fall upon Bengal with a force 10 thousand strong. The answer of Madec was too redolent of Gallic exuberance to be taken seriously.

On 24th July 1772, Chevalier wrote his third letter to Madec, which I reproduce *in extenso*.

M. Madec, Commandant les troupes dans le service des Djattes à Agra.

CHANDERNAGAR,
le 24 Juillet 1772.

Monsieur, Je n'ai reçu qu'hier votre lettre du 15 du mois passé et je m'empresse d'y répondre sur le champ.

Je ne puis que donner à vos sentiments pour notre maître commun et notre Patrie, tous les éloges qu'ils méritent, et vous pouvez être assuré que je me ferai un plaisir de les faire connaître au ministre, en vous recommandant à lui, et en sollicitant ses bontés pour vous, par la première expédition que je me propose de faire incessamment. Je vous exhorte, Monsieur, de continuer dans cette façon de penser, et d'y persister constamment, jusqu'à ce qu'une occasion favorable se présente, de rendre les services signalés dont votre situation actuelle vous met à portée. Elle est peut être plus prochaine que nous ne le pensons, cette occasion, et il y a bien de l'apparence qu'il ne se passera pas désormais de longues années sans que la guerre ne se déclare. La France commence à souffrir impatiemment le joug que les Anglais ne

cessent d'appesantir sur ses sujets dans l'Inde, et, puis-que ses représentations répétées ne leur ont apporté aucun soulagement, il n'est pas douteux que l'on va prendre des mesures efficaces pour se faire justice par la force—Déjà, et vous ne l'ignorez pas, nous avons à l'Île de France un corps formidable de Troupes, composés de plus de 10,000 hommes des premiers Régiments du Royaume, non compris un corps nombreux de Cafres qui, comme vous le savez, ont leur mérite. Des forces aussi prodigieuses devraient relever le courage de tous les princes qui sont aussi impatients que nous de la tyrannie de l'ennemi commun, et pour peu qu'ils veuillent se prêter à seconder nos vues lorsqu'il en sera temps, vous pouvez les assurer que les nôtres ne tendent à autre chose qu'à devenir leurs libérateurs et à leur restituer un pays sur lequel eux seuls ont un droit légitime. L'Empereur, particulièrement, doit être celui qui est le plus touché de toutes les divisions qui déchirent son Empire, et comme il est le plus intéressé à faire rentrer dans le devoir et l'obéissance les Provinces qui s'en sont écartées, soit par des motifs d'intérêt, soit par nécessité, il semble aussi que c'est lui qui doit être le plus incliné à faire le plus grands efforts pour y réussir, et pour rétablir, dans toute l'étendue de ses Etats, son autorité, qui est depuis si longtemps avilié, et méprisée. C'est donc à lui, principalement, qu'il me semble que vous devez vous attacher pour le déterminer à faire quelque grande entreprise dans ces pays-ci, et lui offrant, de votre côté, de le seconder, et, une fois les choses seront en train, et combinées avec sûreté, assurez-le que, de mon côté, il trouvera toutes les facilités qu'il pourra désirer. Ce ne sont point les forces qui manquent, mais bien l'argent : et, s'il peut fournir ce dernier, je me charge de lui procurer tel corps d'Européens qu'il pourra demander, pour peu qu'il en prenne à son compte la solde et l'entretien, et que, de plus, il avance les fonds nécessaires pour le lui faire parvenir. Un-fois qu'un pareil corps serait rendu près de sa personne, c'est pour tout de bon qu'il pourrait se regarder comme maître, enfin, dans son pays, et en état de faire les lois à quiconque oserait encore se déclarer son ennemi, et refuser de lui rendre toute obéissance. M. du Jarry, qui j'ai envoyé auprès de lui pour toutes ses affaires, et qui a dû se rendre près de vous en passant, vous aura entretenu de toutes ces matières, ainsi que je le lui ai recommandé ; et je n'ai aucun doute que vous ne vous soyez prêt, de votre côté, autant qu'ila aura été en vous, à faire réussir des vues si essentielles pour l'établissement de la nation, pour sa gloire et pour son intérêt.

J'ai toute espèce de confiance dans Cassem Ali Khan, il ne peut en douter, et c'est aussi sur lui que je compte beaucoup pour la réussite de toutes ces négociations. Il y a un moyen sûr de conquérir le Bengale : c'est de vaincre l'ennemi sans combattre. Il faut pour cela un corps de cavalerie bien commandé qui par une guerre destructive empêche les manufactures et la

culture des terres en évitant toujours le rençontre de l'ennemi. Par ce moyen là, il met la famine dans les pays anéantit tout commerce, et détruit tous les revenus. Les Anglais, une fois réduits à cette extrémité, seraient forcés à demander la paix, et à recevoir la loi qu'on voudrait leur imposer, puisque, bientôt, ils trouveraient hors d'état de soutenir la guerre, faute de fonds pour payer leur troupes. Celles-ci, se trouvant sans paie, ne manqueraient pas de les abandonner surtout les cipayes, qui seront toujours prêts à passer à l'ennemi, quand on voudra leur faire des offres avantageuses. La Compagnie elle-même, voyant son commerce interrompu, et ne recevant plus de cargaisons à l'ordinaire, serait la première à désirer la paix, et elle l'achèterait même aux dépens de toutes ses possessions, plutôt que de perdre son commerce. Réfléchissez bien sur ce plan, qui est d'une exécution sûre et facile; et voyez, ensuite, si vous ne pourriez pas lier la partie avec l'Empereur, en y intéressant Kassem Ali Khan. Il s'y porterait d'autant plus volontiers, que c'est la seule ressource qu'il ait pour rentrer dans ses états, dont il a été chassé injustement, et après lesquels il ne cesse de soupirer. M. Sombre de son côté, ne doit pas être éloigné d'entrer dans ces vues, pour se venger des Anglais qui ont mis sa tête à prix, et qui ont menacé de la faire pendre, s'il tombait entre leurs mains. Si vous pouvez conduire les affaires de manière que tout ce que je vous propose ici puisse s'exécuter, je vous ferai passer avec plaisir et très facilement d'excellents officiers d'infanterie et de Cavalerie pour vous seconder. Et cela n'empêchera pas, aussi, que l'on n'envoie à l'Empereur le corps de troupes Européennes qu'il voudra avoir auprès de lui pour sa sûreté, lequel servirait, en même temps, pour l'exécution du plan en question. Faites-moi, je vous prie, prompte réponse sur tous ces objets importants, afin que je prenne mes mesures en conséquence.

Vous me marquez que l'Empereur prendra probablement le parti d'aller dans le Décan, avec le Mahrattes. C'est suivant moi, de tous, le plus mauvais qu'il puisse imaginer, et il ne doit y penser qu'après qu'il aura fait la conquête de Bengale, et qu'il aura affermi son autorité dans cette Province, en ce, qu'étant aussi riche que fertile, elle lui procurera une très grande ressource. Et en second lieu, comme c'est un Port considérable, il pourra y embarquer ses troupes pour les transporter dans telle endroit du Décan (ou de ses autres États) qu'il jugera à propos. En troisième lieu, par ce moyen, il se rapprochera de nous; nous serons, ainsi, plus à portée de lui fournir tous les secours qu'il pourra demander, et que nous serons toujours prêts à lui procurer.¹⁹

In this letter Chevalier harps upon his favourite theme of having a French corps in the Imperial army which, as he expected would at once strengthen the position of the Emperor and further the cause of France. The ministry in France did not back up the idea of Chevalier: it was rather in

lavour of "encourager les Partizans Français à se grouper autour du Grand Mogal." But Chevalier was obstinate, and though, he received no encouraging response, and sometimes no response at all from home to his oft-repeated suggestions, he did not give up his favourite scheme, but worked steadily against a more favourable turn of affairs.

The last letter seemed to win Madec to his way of thinking, and Madec was on the look out for an opportunity to leave the service of his patron the Jât king of Dig. and go over to Shah Alam II. One of the reasons that helped him to make up his mind, was, perhaps, the more practical one of a couple of month's pay amounting to "500,000 livres tournois" having fallen into arrears, with slender chances of immediate realization. The French proverb, "*Pas d'argent pas de Suisse*" applied as well to these soldiers of fortune as to their prototypes in Europe, who served not their "Chef" but their "Soldé." Madec writes, however, "*cette lettre (of Chevalier) beaucoup plus pressante que les autres acheva de me convaincre du triste état où était la nation dans le nord, et de me déterminer à tout sacrifice pour lui procurer des alliances capables d'inquiéter les Anglais en ce pays, et de les engager dans une guerre ruineuse au Bengale, en attendant une rupture en Europe, Je ne songeai plus qu'aux moyens de passer au service de l'Empereur.*"

But as a practical man who had had a varied experience of Indian potentates, many of whom he had served, and whose knowledge of Indian character was more real than that of Chevalier, Madec said: "*Mais, je répondis à M. Chevalier, qu'il était inutile de penser à tirer aucun secours d'argent des Puissances indigènes sur des simples spéculations et la perspective d'avantages éloignées. J'ajoutai que pour tout obtenir il fallait d'abord faire une décente au Bengale y battre les Anglais: après quoi le reste viendrait tout seul.*"

M. du Jarday, the Emissary of Chevalier on his way to the Court of Delhi, met Madec and tried to impress upon him the policy of Chevalier, namely to go over to the Great Mogal or to those Princes who were likely to be useful to the French in their projected trial of strength with the English. The Jâts in whose service Madec was, were, at the time, the common enemies of the Emperor on the one hand and of the Marhattas on the other; and the presence of a French captain with a trained hand in the camp of their mutual enemy was not quite compatible with the friendly relations which Chevalier wanted to cultivate with them. This seems to have been the main secret of Chevalier's insistence upon Madec to go over to the court of Delhi.

But Madec was between the horns of a dilemma. To leave the Jâts was no easy matter: he would not only have to give up all chances of realizing his arrears of pay, but he might have to fight his way out of their hands. To

remain with the Jais was evidently inconsistent with the project of Chevalier which by this time was also his own. While in the midst of this perplexity Maitec received the fourth letter of Chevalier, dated Chandernagar, the 16th August 1772.

M. Mader, Commandant les Troupes Djattes, Barpour.

CHANDERNAGAR;

16th Août 1772.

Monsieur, — Je reçois dans le moment votre lettre du 8 du mois passé, et me presse d'y répondre sur le champ.

Par ce que vous me marquez de l'état actuel du pays de Delhi, et des dispositions où est le Roi, conjointement avec les Mahrattes il est à presumer qu'aussitôt les pluies passés, il ne tardera pas à faire paraître ses forces sur les frontières du Bengale, et je le desirais de bon cœur pour la délivrance de la tyrannie sous laquelle tout le pays gemit. Mais, mon inquiétude est de savoir si les troupes de ce Prince sont assez aguerries pour se présenter devant celles des Anglais, composées d'environ 2,000 Européens et 20,000 cipayes, et qui seront, de plus soutenues par toutes celles de Sudjah-Dowla, qui s'il a lieu d'être mécontent du Prince (Emperor) n'hésitera pas de se déclarer en leur faveur. Dans un pareil doute, qui n'est que trop fondé, je désirerais que le Roi et les Mahrattes voulussent suivre le conseil que j'aurais à leur donner. C'est de différer leur attaque contre les Anglais jusqu'à ce qu'ils fussent joints par les Troupes Auxiliaires dont je vous ai parlé, et que j'offre de faire venir de l'Île de France pourvu que l'on me fasse passer, ou à M. Law, les fonds nécessaires pour les dépenses, ce qui est un objet qui ne peut être moindre d'une vingtaine de lakhs. — En acceptant cette proposition, il est facile de leur procurer quatre à cinq mille hommes des meilleures troupes de France. Avec un pareil corps, l'Emperere est assuré, non seulement de rentrer en possession du Bengale et d'en chasser les Anglais, mais encore de soumettre tous le Gouverneurs des ses Provinces, qui font difficulté de reconnaître son autorité, et de payer les revenus. C'est alors qu'il n'aurait plus rien à craindre, et qu'il affermirait sa puissance de tous côtés, plus solidement que ne l'a, peut-être, jamais été celle d'aucun de ses prédécesseurs. Le parti que je conseille ici est certainement le plus sage et le plus prudent, et ne demande qu'une année de retard dans l'exécution; mais, si les choses sont tellement avancées qu'il n'y ait plus à reculer, et si vous entrez au service du Roi comme vous le lui avez proposé, le principal point à lui recommander, et dont il ne doit s'écarter à aucun prix, c'est de ne jamais se battre en bataille rangée, mais de plutôt faire le genre de guerre destructif dont je vous ai parlé dans ma dernière lettre.

Je loue, comme ils le méritent, les sentiments patriotiques que vous exprimez dans votre lettre; ils sont d'un bon Français, et d'un homme qui a la noble ambition de se faire un nom en servant utilement la nation. Pour remplir un objet si beau il est certain que vous ne pouvez rien faire de mieux que de passer avec vos troupes au service du Roi; vous serez, en suite, en état de gagner sa confiance entière, et de lui faire goûter, peu à peu, les projets que je vous indique, comme ceux qui peuvent devenir le plus avantageux tant à son service, qu'au succès de notre nation. Il est certain que jamais il ne parviendra à recouvrir son autorité, et à l'établir solidement dans toutes ses Provinces, sans qu'il ait un corps de troupes Européennes assez considérable pour se faire craindre de tous les ennemis qui pourraient se combiner contre lui, en tel nombre qu'ils fussent. Il faut donc continuellement l'entretenir dans cette idée, et, jusqu'à ce qu'il l'ait mise à exécution, ne cesser de la lui présenter comme ce qu'il y a de plus convenable à ses intérêts, à sa sûreté, à sa puissance. Encore une fois, les troupes Françaises ne lui manqueront pas lorsqu'il les demandera, et qu'il voudra avancer les dépenses nécessaires pour leur transport jusqu'à Delhi, en se chargeant ensuite de les entretenir, lorsqu'elles seront auprès de lui. Si vous réussissez dans ce plan Politique soyez assuré que vous vous immortaliserez à jamais auprès de notre Ministre, qui s'empressera de vous combler de récompenses les plus flatteuses, qu'auront mérités vos réels succès. Aussitôt que vous aurez commencé cette négociation pour la réussite de laquelle vous ne devrez rien négliger, faites moi part successivement de ses progrès, afin que je travaille en conséquence, et que je puisse faire passer aux Iles les avis nécessaires pour que l'on y tienne les troupes prêtes à partir, aussitôt qu'il sera temps. Peut-être même pourrait il arriver que je m'y rendisse moi-même pour hâter l'Expédition, et les conduire à Delhi, par la route sûre que je connais.

Cassem Ali Khan, dont vous me parlez, peut vous servir beaucoup dans cette intrigue; son intérêt particulier le porte invinciblement à s'attacher aux nôtres, puisque ce n'est que par nous qu'il peut réussir à rentrer dans la possession d'un pays qui lui tient à cœur, et dont il a été si injustement chassé. Il n'y a donc pas de doute qu'il ne travaille efficacement à l'exécution de ces projets, et je pense que vous ne sauriez mieux faire que de l'y employer. C'est ce que portent les instructions de M. du Jarday, et je ne doute point qu'il s'entende à leur sujet avec vous, ainsi que je le lui recommande."

Mir Kasim goes into the back-ground after the battle of Buxar, and ceases to exist as an active factor in the politics of the subsequent epoch. History is silent as to what became of him when the *triple entente* broke up at Buxar (Oct. 1764). It would be interesting therefore, to quote here from

Madec's "*Memoires*" an account of his accidental meeting with Kasim Ali Khan in June 1773, at a place called Bede, 10 leagues from Godh, (1) on the way to Narvar.

"J'y trouvai, Cassem Ali Khan, Nabab du Bengale prêt à partir pour aller implorer le secours du premier Prince Indien qui pourrait le faire subsister. Toute la terre s'imagina que ce Prince a des richesses, mais, je puis certifier qu'il n'a exactement rien, et qu'il est dans une misère noire. Depuis que les Anglais l'ont chassé du Bengale, il a vécu par le moyen de quelques bijoux qu'il avait sauvés: mais il n'a plus rien. Comme ce Prince savait que je devais passer, il avait arrangé son départ pour quitter les terres du Radjah, en profitant de ma protection.

Il fit très bien de s'arrêter à ce parti; car, au moment où nous allions nous mettre en marche, le Radjah (of Godh) envoya l'ordre de l'arrêter, pour un prêt de 7,000 roupies qu'il lui avait consenti. Cet incident m'obligea à faire halte. J'écrivis au Radjah que je me portais garant de cette somme; en conséquence je le priais de ne point inquiéter le Nabab, et de ne mettre aucun obstacle à son départ.

Le Radjah, voyant que je m'intéressais à cette affaire, écrivit à Cassem Ali Khan qu'il lui faisait remise de sa dette, qu'il pouvait partir—Nous continuâmes notre route; et en peu de jours, ce Prince et moi, nous nous rendîmes à Narvar. Ainsi, sa pauvreté n'est point équivoque, puise qu'il aurait été forcé de rester dans le Pays du Radjah comme prisonnier, faute de pouvoir payer."

From the above account it may well be imagined what chance there was of Kasim Ali being of any help to the cause which Chevalier had at heart. History records how a roving Humayun came back to the throne of Delhi, but in the case of Kasim Ali, history was not going to repeat itself.

Let us go back—. Madec was actually negotiating with the Great Mogul for the transfer of his services to him, when the fifth letter of Chevalier reached him at Daurel.

M. Madec, Commandant des Troupes au Service des Djattes à Daurel.

CHANDERNAGAR,

4 Décembre 1772.

Monsieur, j'ai reçu, il y a peu de jours, votre lettre sans date, mais que je présume devoir être du 11 Octobre dernier, par celle que m'a écrite M. de Montmirel. J'y ai vu avec plaisir le zèle et les sentiments patriotiques qui vous animent, et ne puis trop vous exhorter à y persister. Un gallant

(1) Auber's *British Power in India*, Vol. I, page 204—"It was stated that the Rance of Gohad had invited him to reside at Gwalior, as a place better fitted for his schemes than the country of the Rohillas." (1769).

homme se doit à la Patrie avant tout, et avant même l'auteur de ses jours qui n'occupe que le second degré d'affection dans le cœur d'un loyal sujet.

Lorsque je vous ai invité à augmenter votre troupe le plus qu'il vous sera possible, je n'ai prétendu vous engager à le faire à vos dépens, mais bien à ceux du Prince, au service duquel vous entrerez. Je vous l'ai déjà dit, Monsieur, il n'y a que celui de l'Empereur qui puisse vous convenir comme le plus honorable, en soutenant le Maître légitime, tout autre ne doit être regardé que comme un Usurpateur ou un Rebelle; et il y aurait de la honte à le défendre dans sa rébellion, à moins d'y être forcé par des circonstances, que seuls peuvent excuser la chose. Tant que ces circonstances, n'existeront pas, la nation, par préférence, épousera le parti du Prince. Son honneur l'y engage, et ses intérêts mêmes le demandent. Quittez donc, en conséquence, le plutôt que vous le pourrez, le service du Radjah pour vous attacher à l'Empereur, après toute-fois, que vous aurez fait vos conditions. Une fois auprès de lui, vous lui remontrerez la nécessité d'augmenter votre troupe, combien elle fait sa sûreté, et pour lors, ce sera à lui à en fournir les fonds nécessaires. Du côté de votre nation, Monsieur, vous devez compter sur le plus prompt avancement, et les honneurs les plus désirables, aussitôt que vous vous serez mis à lieu de lui rendre les services éclatantes que votre situation doit vous rendre aisés, si vous savez mettre votre position à profit. Déjà, j'ai écrit à la cour à votre sujet, et je n'ai aucun doute qu'avec la réponse, il ne me vienne le Brevet que j'ai demandé pour vous. Cette grâce accordée, il vous en viendra bientôt une seconde, mais encore une fois, pour accélérer l'accomplissement de vos souhaits, passer chez l'Empereur s'il désire vos services, après que vous les lui aurez offerts à des conditions convenables. Vos seules forces doivent être capables de faire pencher la balance de son côté contre tous les Gouverneur et Nababs qui refuseraient de reconnaître son autorité, surtout étant allié aux Mahrattes qu'il est important de ménager, et d'attacher à la nation, par la raison que cette race belliqueuse est devenue, aujourd'hui, la Puissance la plus formidable de l'Hindustan.

Dans les lettres que j'aurai occasion d'écrire à l'Empereur je ne manquerai pas de parler de vous dans les termes que vous souhaitez, et de lui recommander de prendre confiance en vous. Je l'ai déjà fait, et je le répéterai dans les termes les plus forts.

M. du Jarday m'a fait un rapport tout semblable au vôtre sur les affaires et la politique du Pays que vous habitez, et m'a fait apercevoir des difficultés. Mais elles ne doivent pas rebuter des âmes courageuses. Plus elles sont insurmontables, plus il y a d'honneur à les vaincre. Enfin! Il est question de relever la nation de ses malheurs passés, et de lui rendre sa gloire et sa splendeur. Commencez-en donc les préparatifs; et je compte

beaucoup sur vous pour réussir dans un but aussi louable et aussi glorieux. En travaillant avec M. du Jarday d'un commun concert, et avec harmonie, je ne fais aucun doute que vous ne réussissiez l'un et l'autre dans la mission que vous est confiée. Il en résultera pour vous un honneur infini, qui ne saurait que vous attirer toute la reconnaissance de la nation."

After the receipt of this letter Madec closed with the offer of Shab Alum II, on terms which I give in Madec's own words. "Je recevrais 40,000 roupies par mois, avec faculté d'augmenter ma troupe au chiffre que je jugerais bon. Je recevrais titre de Nabab, et on m'en expédia d'ailleurs la Patente." Madec could extricate himself and his men only after a stiff resistance offered by the forces of the Jat ruler, which cost him 200 men and a few camels. Madec made quite a triumphal entry into Delhi after having been received at the gate by the brother of Najef Khan the Imperial generalissimo. On the third day he was received in audience by the Emperor himself, and was presented with "une robe de drap d'or, de la ceinture et du sabre, du turban, de l'aigrette de pierreries, et il lui donna un cheval." This was prepared by Chevalier who wrote to the Abbé de St. Estevan at Paris on 6th March 1773. "A mon instigation Madec a quitté le Radjah des Djattes pour l'Empereur il a reçu le titre de *Bacsi*. Le voilà donc rendu où je le désirais, et jouissant de la plus grande considération tant auprès du Prince qu'auprès des Mahrattes. Sudjah-Dowla lui a écrit pour venir à son service; et je le connais patriote, et je serais persuadé qu'il ne fera rien de contraire à ce sentiment. Je demande pour lui au Ministre une commission du Capitaine."

Chevalier's suspicions about Sudjah-Dowla were not well founded, as it is known to history that, while apparently friendly to the English, he was at heart their enemy, looking out for opportunities to turn against them. But a sudden knock of destiny had, in the meantime, brought about a brisk change in the combinations of parties that were arrayed one against the other. The battle at the gates of Delhi between the Mahrattas Jats and Rohillas on the one side and the Emperor on the other, had been fought and the Emperor was made to sign an ignominious treaty. "It was a twelve month to a day after the Emperor had entered his capital (25th December 1771) on the shoulders of the Mahrattas that he was constrained to open his gates to their hostile battalions and to submit to all their demands" (Marshman). The news of this bewildering change of affairs had reached Chevalier at Chandernagar, sometime before the 12th of February 1773 on which date he wrote the following letter in cipher to Madec.

"Monsieur, Je serais dans la plus vive inquiétude à votre égard, si M. du Jarday, de qui j'ai reçu des lettres il y a peu de temps ne m'en avait tiré, en m'apprenant que vous étiez à Delhi, où vous jouissez d'une parfaite santé,—

J'ai été informé de la manière dont vous avez quitté le Djattes pour passer dans le Parti de l'Empereur, du combat que vous avez eu à soutenir contre les troupes du Radjah qui a voulu s'opposer à votre départ, et vous barrer le passage, de la bravoure et de l'intrépidité avec lesquels vous les avez repoussées en leur tuant beaucoup de monde, enfin, du bonheur avec lequel vous avez fait votre retraite à peu de perte. Cela Monsieur vous fait le plus grand honneur, et je ne vais pas manquer d'en informer le Ministre, par la lettre que je vais lui écrire sous peu de jours. L'Empereur, en vous recevant avec la distinction qu'il vous a témoignée s'est fait honneur à lui-même. C'est une preuve qu'il rend justice à votre mérite. Je ne doute pas qu'à présent vous ne possédiez toute sa confiance, et que vous ne l'employiez toute entière pour le bien de la nation. L'Empereur se trouvera aujourd'hui, par reconnaissance obligé de vous accorder tout ce que vous pourrez lui demander suivant l'étendue du pouvoir limité où il se trouve.—Vous l'avez défendu contre les Mahrattes, dans le temps qu'ils le tenaient assiégé dans sa Forteresse; et j'apprends avec plaisir que ceux-ci, loin de vous en vouloir du mal, n'en ont que plus d'estime pour vous.

Il est important, pour les affaires, de vous lier le plus fortement possible avec les Princes de la cour, et surtout avec Sindhia, que l'on dit le plus puissant et le plus affermi. Leur bonne volonté pour vous, et la puissance de cette nation peut vous être utile un jour. Vous devez donc mettre cette bonne volonté en usage, tâcher d'attacher les Mahrattes à vos intérêts, et de vous les rendre favorables.

L'on m'assure que, par le dernier Traité entre l'Empereur et les Mahrattes, il a été obligé de leur céder en toute propriété ses deux Provinces de Coré et de Bénarès. Ils vont donc bientôt se présenter pour en prendre possession. Mais, ils rencontreront de la résistance de la part de Sudjah-Dowla, qui lui même sera soutenu par les Anglais. Ces derniers verraient avec peine les Mahrattes dans leur voisinage: il en résultera, conséquemment une guerre longue et opiniâtre. Peut être la façon dont les Mahrattes devraient se comporter, serait d'envoyer un gros corps de Cavalerie dans le Bengale pour y faire une guerre destructive; par là, ils opéreraient une diversion avantageuse. Elle attirerait les forces des Anglais au secours de leur propre pays: par ce moyen, Sudjah-Dowla se trouverait réduit à lutter avec ses seules forces.

Les Mahrattas, en topant à ce plan d'opérations, doivent se comporter de manière à éviter constamment toute espèce de combat avec les troupes Anglaises; ce sera facile, en allant toujours d'un autre côté que celui où celles-ci se trouveront. Quand les Mahrattes apprendront que les Anglais sont près d'eux, qu'ils fuient, et, chemin faisant, qu'ils détruisent tous les Revenus du Pays et, surtout les manufactures. Tel est le moyen de vaincre

les Anglais sans combattre. Que seront ils, lorsque leur Pays ne leur fournira plus rien pour subsister, plus d'argent pour payer leurs troupes, plus de commerce, de toute nécessité les Anglais seront contraints à demander la paix, et à la recevoir aux conditions qu'on voudra bien leur imposer.

Je sais, Monsieur, par des avis certains, que Soudjah-Dowla a dû ou doit vous écrire, et vous faire des propositions, pour vous engager de quitter le service de l'Empereur afin de vous attacher au sien; que, même à cette condition, les Anglais offrent de vous accorder votre grâce. Mais, je suis très assuré, par toutes vos lettres, du patriotisme qui regne dans votre cœur, et de l'ambition que vous avez de servir votre nation. Vous rejeterez donc, comme vous le devez, de pareilles propositions, comme contraires aux intérêts de la France. En effet, ne serait-ce pas servir ses ennemis, et augmenter leur puissance? Ce ne sont sûrement pas là vos vues et vos projets, et je vais en être caution pour vous auprès du Ministre, à qui j'ai demandé pour vous des récompenses, qui vous parviendront par les vaisseaux de cette année."

Chevalier's preference of the Emperor as the rallying point of these adventurers and the centre of intrigue was rudely shaken when the Mahrattas, the *de facto* rulers of Delhi, on behalf of the Jats whom Madec had just left and of the Rohillas, were battering the gates of Delhi, and Madec was found fighting on the side of the Emperor against the Mahrattas who were being conciliated on behalf of the French. This intricate situation required a master hand to grapple, and neither Law the cynic nor Chevalier the enthusiast was found equal to the occasion. Up to this time the Court of Versailles was absolutely indifferent to its interests in India, and the ministers were very much averse to initiating any new move. So that all the intrigue with the Indian Princes emanated for the time being either from Law at Pondichery or Chevalier at Chandernagar; they expected perhaps the ministry to come to their aid when the time was ripe. Law and Chevalier, however, were not of one mind in the execution of their plan. Law looked upon an alliance with Hyder Ali or the Mahrattas against the English as a "seductive mirage"; nevertheless he would, if possible, rally round Hyder Ali by way of preference, whereas Chevalier stood out for the Emperor. Law said: "C'eût été cependant une belle occasion, de rassembler autour de Hyder Ali Khan sous les ordres de M. Rusaül, cette quantité de soldats français qui se trouvent répandus çà et là, dans toute l'Hindoustan. Il y en a 3 ou 400 auprès de Bassalet Zing sous le commandement du Sieur Gardé, il y en a peut-être plus encore entre Agra et Delhi, qui forment divers corps sous les ordres d'un nommé Sombre, et d'un nommé Madec: celui-ci est auprès du Grand Mogol." But according to him such a rally under one single

command had its difficulties: "Je vois cependant bien des difficultés à une réunion sous un même chef, qui voudrait faire observer la subordination et une discipline exacte, parce que tous ces soldats quoique formant des corps réunis, se regardent comme très libres; ils sont pairs et compagnons avec leurs chefs, et n'observent de subordination que celle qui les gêne peu."

Chevalier wrote to the ministry a long report about the situation in India on 24th February 1773 in which he recounted the sudden turn of fortune that had overwhelmed the Emperor, but he obstinately stuck to his idea of supporting him as the only rightful sovereign, who, though broken, was yet the inevitable centre towards which should gravitate all the forces of the realm, and his existence was necessary for France. He continues: "J'ai déterminé, le Parti Français qui étant auprès de Bassalet-Zing, autrefois commandé par Zéphir, et, depuis sa mort, par Gardé, à offrir ses services à l'Empereur. J'ai fait partir, à cet effet, le sieur Motteroz pour Delhi, où il doit négocier cette affaire. On peut la regarder comme conclue si l'Empereur veut payer les dépenses, tant pour le transport des troupes que pour leur entretien. Elles consistent en 600 Européens très-bien armés et disciplinés 900 topas, 4,000 cipayes dressés à l'Européenne et armés de même, et un Train de douze pièces d'Artillerie." Subsequently he insists upon his favourite theme of the despatch from France of 4 or 5 thousand men to support the cause of the Emperor. He says: "Nous sommes sûrs de l'alliance des Mahrattes, dont Sindhia est le chef, et qui ont pour capital Adjemir, près de Tatta, au Guzrate. Nous en sommes si sûrs que je vous fais parvenir un Traité conditionnel signé de Sindhia et de M. du Jarsay, mon Agent à Delhi. Quant aux sentiments de l'Empereur pour nous, ils sont notoires. Avec le renfort que je demande, personne n'est capable de nous résister dans l'Inde."

The fortunes of the Emperor were at their lowest ebb after the "traité léonin" he was forced to sign by the Mahrattas, and Madec transferred his services to Sindhia the only friend of the Emperor in India at that epoch. From the service of Sindhia with whom he left his "Party" under the command of M. du Jarsay, Madec went over to Sudjah-Dowla, and the following extract from a letter of Chevalier to the Minister is interesting (Chandernagar, 26th August 1774). "Je crois vous avoir fait part, Monseigneur, que le nommé Madec, à la tête d'un Parti considérable qu'il commande, avait pris du service auprès de Sudjah-Dowla, et qu'il avait contribué à ses victoires sur les Rohillas. Je lui ai reproché amèrement cette conduite, et lui ai fait connaître qu'il n'avait rien à espérer des grâces du Roi s'il n'abandonnait ce Prince, vu qu'en se battant pour lui, c'était se battre pour les Anglais, que dans tous les temps, il devait regarder comme les ennemis naturels de sa nation. Il s'est rendu à mes raisonnements et a

exécuté le conseil que je lui ai donné de se rendre avec sa troupe à Delhi. J'ai avis qu'il y est arrivé depuis peu de temps, et qu'il a été reçu avec un accueil capable de rendre jaloux tous les Princes. L'Empereur lui-même a été audevant de lui, quelques pas, et l'a conduit dans le lieu qu'on avait préparé pour le faire asseoir. Madec commande 4,000 cipayes armés et disciplinés comme ceux des Anglais, 600 hommes de cavalerie, 100 Européens et d'une Artillerie de campagne montée de 22 pièces de canon. Il demande 150 mille roupies par mois pour l'entretien de cette troupe. Le marché n'était pas encore conclu lors de dernières lettres que j'ai reçues : mais je ne doute pas qu'il ait lieu.

"En attachant ainsi Madec au parti de l'Empereur je lui ai encore procuré le parti Sombre, qui est entré à son service depuis peu de mois avec 200 Européens, 6,000 cipayes, 4,000 cavaliers, 24 pièces de campagne servies par des Européens."

A marginal note against the last paragraph, evidently of the Minister, runs thus: "Voilà le moyen par lequel pourrait parvenir à rassembler auprès de l'Empereur une armée d'Européens assez nombreuse."

Chevalier was evidently misinformed about the proclivities of Sadjah-Dowla which were decidedly pro-French. At the death of Sadjah-Dowla on 26th January 1775, all the French retainers of that prince were expelled by his son and heir Mirza Muni (otherwise known as Assaf Udowla) at the instance of the English. "Il y avait la toute une petite caravane française: Modave, Dieu, Aumont, de la Sauvagère: en tout treize sujets du Roi dont La Martinière et Crécy" Dieu and Modave took service under Najef Khan to whom Madec had gone over and Sombre. The rest of the "caravan" were provided for by Madec himself who granted them a monthly allowance of Rs. 100 each.

About this time a false rumour reached Chandernagar according to which Shah Alum II. had died and Timur Shah(?) was on his way to Delhi. Chevalier wrote to Madec on 11th March 1775 asking him to enter into league with Timur, and, since Sadjah-Dowla was dead, to prevent, if it lay in his power, the succession to go to any one favourably disposed towards the English. On 28th February 1775, Chevalier again wrote to the Ministry on the necessity of sending succours to the Emperor who was daily losing his confidence in the French, and, if as the Ministers claimed, the despatch of a force to Delhi were to be a signal for war in Europe, to send at least 4,000 men to Mahé and 3,000 to Pondichery to which the English could never object. This is quite "naïf" as a Frenchman would say.

Madec was at this time in great favour with the Emperor, whose conduct-pipe he was in his secret dealings with the French in India and France. His party had suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Rohillas at

Fatehpour (29th July 1775) in which he had lost half his white soldiers, over 1,000 sepoy, his baggage, his artillery and his elephants. But in a couple of months he had reconstituted his battallions and reformed his artillery. In November 1775 he wrote the following letter to Chevalier:—

"Du camp d'Adjemir assiégée par l'Empereur contre les Djattes."

Monsieur,—J'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire plusieurs lettres, dont je n'ai reçu aucune réponse. Dans mes dernières, je vous ai marqué le désastre qui m'était arrivé par la perte d'une bataille complète. Je vous marquais aussi que je commençais à me rétablir. Mais, actuellement que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire, Monsieur, je le suis complètement, et suis à l'Armée auprès du Prince. Toujours à peu près dans le même crédit que ci-devant.

Nous sommes encore à investir la place des Djattes. Point d'apparence d'accommodement. Les Révolutions sont plus animées que jamais de ce côté-ci. Le Roy est fort brouillé avec Nagel Khan; Assef-Dowla et les Anglais le sont aussi. Et, suivant les apparences, il marche de nos côtés pour combattre Nagel Khan (et nous aussi) puis que nous sommes de son parti. Plaise à Dieu que cela ne soit pas, car je crois qu'il ne resterait plus d'asile pour les pauvres Français qui y sont. Vous savez, Monsieur, que tous les Français qui étaient à Ferabad ont été mis hors de service, et sont venus ici chez moi où je les ai tous reçus. Je tâcherai de les maintenir autant qu'il me sera possible. En attendant d'arranger leur affaire, je leur ai fait une subsistence de cent roupies à chacun par mois. M. Visage est du nombre, il vous écrit, et vous instruira plus au clair sur cet article.

Je suis toujours fort lié avec l'Empereur, et ai une correspondance secrète avec lui: il voudrait bien que notre bon Roi lui prêtât la main, et lui envoyât des troupes. Il serait encore temps, de secouer le joug, et d'empêcher les Anglais de poursuivre leurs conquêtes. Ils deviennent fort puissants dans ce pays, et dans la suite, il sera très difficile de les en chasser. Il n'a point d'argent, mais des Provinces; il en considérera facilement dans telle partie de son Empire que l'on désirera, comme Tatta-Bakar, et autres que l'on jugera à propos. Je me charge d'en faire faire les Patentes, et de vous les envoyer. Cet endroit de Tatta-Bakar serait fort avantageux suivant moi, parce que les Anglais n'ont pas de forces de ce côté là, et qu'il n'est qu'à deux cent lieues de Delhi, capitale de cet Empire, avec des chemins fort beaux. Il n'y a point non plus, de puissance qui puisse causer aucun obstacle à vos démarches; voyez, Monsieur; c'est un projet que je vous présente. S'il est agréable au Ministère, soyez persuadé que j'emploierai tout mon crédit pour le faire réussir. Moi-même avec mes forces, je pourrais m'y transporter sans obstacle à mes frais et depens, à l'arrivée de troupes sur les lieux."

The Emperor had assigned to Madec for the maintenance of his Party the district of Barri or Barpour "sud d'Agra, entre le Tchamel et la

Djemnah." He drew no salaries from the Imperial Treasury—this is what he suggests by his expression "*à mes frais et depens.*"

In the same year he wrote from Agra a long despatch to M. de Sartines Ministre et Secrétaire d'Etat de la Marine. I give below some extracts which will be found interesting:—

" Il y a quelques mois, me trouvant à Delhi, l'Empereur m'envoya chercher. Aussitôt que je me fus rendu à ses ordres, il fit écarter tout le monde, et il me dit qu'il avait à me parler sur des affaires très importantes. Il n'est pas inutile de vous observer que le long séjour que j'ai fait dans l'Hindoustan m'a mis en état d'en apprendre la langue au point que je la parle aussi facilement que le français, et peut-être plus correctement. J'ai ne donc aucun besoin d'interprète. Me trouvant seul avec ce Monarque, voici la traduction des choses qu'il me confia:—'Je me vois' me dit ce Prince, dans une situation assez embarrassante. Outre les affaires générales de l'Empire, le progrès et l'ambition insatiable des Anglais me causent de trop justes alarmes. Ce n'est que par le Bengale qu'ils me paraissent à craindre pour l'Hindoustan. Les pays de Coromandel et d'Orissa en sont si éloignés, que leurs éternelles acquisitions dans cette partie me touchent faiblement; j'en dis autant de leur Etablissement de Bombay, quoique, dans ce côté, il soient assez près de Surate. Les Mahrattas les contiendront suffisamment dans cette direction, pour que je n'en aie rien à craindre. Mais vers le Bengale, c'est une autre affaire. Tant que Sadjah-Dowla a vécu, je me suis flatté qu'il trouverait les moyens de les contenir. Le fils n'a ni le courage ni la capacité du père. Il s'est absolument livré aux Anglais, au point qu'ils sont plus maîtres que lui dans le Soubahs de Fezabad et de Laknau. Il est évident qu'ils songent à s'assurer de la meilleure patrie du cours du Gange. Ils viennent d'obliger le fils de Sadjah-Dowlah de leur céder presque tout le pays qui est entre Patna et Ellahad, et j'ai quelques avis qui m'assurent qu'ils veulent aussi que la possession de cette ville leur soit remise. Vous savez combien j'ai à me plaindre d'eux, et de la manière dont ils m'ont traité, dans le temps où je me fiais à leur promesses. Je voudrais savoir de vous si je ne pourrais pas tirer quelque secours et quelque appui de votre nation. Nous sommes, en général, assez peu instruits de l'état de l'Europe; je n'ignore cependant pas que le Roi de France est le plus grand et le plus puissant de princes de l'occident. Mais je crains que les événements de la dernière guerre n'aient dégoûté votre nation des affaires des Indes; j'en juge principalement par le peu d'efforts qu'elle a fait pour se rétablir, depuis la paix, dans ses anciennes possessions et pour s'y montrer sur un pied respectable. Cependant, je voudrais bien qu'elle songeât efficacement à s'y procurer un état solide, et à nouer avec moi des relations étroites. Les Anglais sont, dit-on, vos ennemis naturels, et j'ai de justes sujets de les

considérer comme les miens. Si donc je connaissais les dispositions du Roi de France, je lui proposerais des choses qui nous seraient réciproquement utiles. Les établissements Français, environnés de toutes parts de possessions Anglaises, doivent rester dans un état de médiocrité jusqu'au temps où une nouvelle guerre changera la face des Affaires. Cet n'est pas en cela que je puis aider les Français. Mais si le Roi voulait d'autres possessions, je peux lui en céder qui lui seraient, à mon avis, extrêmement avantageuses, et j'entends que vous écriviez en France pour y faire savoir mes intentions et apprendre aussi celles du Roi."

This is a wonderful narrative, if it is really that of Shah Allum, and not a summary of Madec's own put into the mouth of the Emperor.

Madec continues: Après cela, il m'a fait remettre sa lettre pour le Roi, et Abdel Khan, son Ministre de confiance, m'en a également remis une pour vous. Je ne sais, Monseigneur, si vous trouverez cette conduite régulière: mais il me semble que je n'ai puis faire que ce que j'ai fait.—Il est si essentiel pour l'Empereur de dérober aux Anglais les démarches qu'il fait auprès du Roi, que je suis obligé d'user d'un artifice pour que ce paquet traverse le Bengale sans exciter le soupçon. Il n'est pas moins important qu'on ignore, à Chandernagar, ce que contient le paquet que j'y vais envoyer pour y être embarqué."

The excuse of secrecy is too transparent to hoodwink any one. It was an attempt on the part of Madec, to steal a march upon Chevalier, with whom he was, at this moment not on the best of terms, owing to the promised recognition of his services not arriving from Europe. Madec believed he had been hoaxed by Chevalier, and wanted to place his case and his services directly before the Minister.

The letter of Shah Allum to the King of France contained an offer of the "Ville et le Soubah de Tatta-Bakar, Situé à l'embouchure du Scinde (Rivière Indus) vers les 25 Degrés de latitude Nord." The Emperor was ready to place in the hands of Madec the letters patent, but believing that he was not officially authorised in that behalf Madec did not receive them, but only sent on the Royal missive to Europe. This affair of the projected cession of Tatta-Bakar was not so secret after all—so far at least as the French adventurers themselves were concerned—as Madec pretends it was. Modave wrote on the same subject to one M. de Moracin at Pondichery, from Agra on 15th October 1775. In this letter Modave claims the honour of having conducted the negotiations for the cession, and pleads the same excuse namely secrecy, for not writing to M. Law on the subject. Modave also tried to correspond directly with the Court of Versailles, and to steal a march both upon Law and Chevalier, but he missed his chance owing to an accident. Chevalier in his letter to Sartines, dated 11th August 1776 relates how

Modave's manœuvre failed. The letter of Modave was being conveyed in a boat which was lost near Kassimbazar. It was originally addressed to one M. Mille, "Chirurgien à Chandernagar" and should have been readdressed by him to Versailles.

De Boigne had been replaced by Sartines and they were seriously thinking of the scheme evolved by Chevalier and Madec. This is clear from an anonymous note in the archives in Paris with the label "Affaire Secrète," and called "Tableau de la Situation politique dans l'Inde au 1er Mars 1776."

"Le Mogol nous fait faire les propositions par voyes différentes :—

L'une par le Sr. Chevalier.

L'autre par le Sr. Madec.

Par le Sr. Chevalier, l'Empereur demande qu'on lui envoie à Delhi un corps de 4 à 5,000 hommes.

Par le Sr. Madec, il offre de nous subroger à ses droits sur Tatta et ses dependances, et il s'engage à nous envoyer le Parvāna par Surate, à condition que de Tatta on lui dépêchera un corps de troupes.

Ces deux propositions s'accordent parfaitement avec nos liaisons dans l'Inde.

Les Mahrattas sont protecteurs-nés de l'Empereur. Ils forment la cavalerie de ses armées : et on ne doit pas douter un instant que, lorsqu'ils verront le Prince un corps de 4 à 5,000 Français, la majeure partie de la nation ne se joigne à eux.

Quant à Hayder Ali Khan et Bassalet-Sing, mais, surtout le premier, lors qu'ils seront instruits de notre intention avec le Mogol, nul doute qu'ils ne soient infiniment plus empressés à cultiver notre alliance, et alors, dans le cas de guerre, ils pourront nous être, ainsi qu'à l'Empereur, d'une grande utilité pour former une diversion sur la côte de Coromandel. * * *

L'ombrage que l'envoi d'un corps de troupes à Delhi par le chemin le plus court peut donner aux Anglais serait infiniment moindre, qu'ils voyaient cet armement se borner, d'abord, à former un établissement à Tatta, sur les frontières de la Perse, et à 150 lieues au moins de Surate, leur établissement le plus près, ils croiraient que la Nouvelle Colonie est l'objet unique de l'armement. * * *

En supposant, comme il n'est point permis d'en douter, que c'est par le côté Malabar que le Sr. Chevalier entend faire arriver ce corps de troupes à Delhi, il s'y rendra très facilement, parce que les Anglais n'étant pas prévenus d'une expédition aussi nouvelle en son genre, il leur faudrait des années pour arrêter la marche d'un corps de cinq mille Français. * * *

Je conclus donc que cet établissement à Tatta nous présente des avantages inappréciables, et qu'il faut accepter l'offre que nous en fait

le Mogol, soit que l'on se décide à débarquer d'abord à Tatta, soit qu'on ne s'occupe à former cet établissement, que lors que les Troupes seraient rendues à Delhi."

Chevallier was getting impatient. He wrote to Sartines on 4th August 1776. "Je n'ai encore reçu aucune réponse, Monseigneur, concernant la province de Tatta, dont j'ai eu l'honneur de vous entretenir... M. le Chevalier de Montvert, retenu à Patna, n'a pu se rendre à Delhi aussitôt que je l'aurais compté..... Si l'Empereur a écrit une seconde lettre, sachant la première perdue, il attendra."

Montvert was Chevallier's carrier of despatches to Madec and the Emperor. Something happened to him at Patna which made him burn his papers for fear of detection.

Chevallier must have received an encouraging response from France, after a whole year of impatient waiting, for he wrote to the Minister on 31st August 1777—"Votre lettre du 4th Septembre (1776) me comble de joie et d'espérance. Je n'attends que votre ordre pour aller au rendez-vous au débarquement..... Toutes les forces de l'Empire vont être à notre disposition..... Je réponds de tout, si vous me donnez mes cinq mille hommes..... Mon intention est d'expédier, aussitôt que la Mousson le permettra, un petit bâtiment dans la rivière de Tatta, sous prétexte de commerce, avec M. des Blotières comme commandant."

Against all these projects to bring about a revolution in India in favour of the Emperor and the French, of which Chevallier was so sanguine and enthusiastic, there is a *Memoire* in the Archives at Paris from the pen of Law de Lauriston, who looked upon all these speculations as mere day-dreams and completely beyond the pale of practical politics. It is a highly interesting document, but too long for reproduction in *extenso*. I give a few extracts.

"Quelques spéculateurs politiques ont prétendu que c'était par le nord de la Presqu'île qu'il fallait faire la révolution. Les uns ont proposé de faire un débarquement à Tatta, à l'embouchure de l'Indus, de remonter le cours de ce fleuve jusqu'à une certaine hauteur, et de pénétrer de là à Delhi, où l'on se joindrait à l'Empereur pour descendre dans le Bengale, et en chasser les Anglais jusqu'à l'embouchure du Gange; d'autres ont proposé le sens inverse, et ont imaginé qu'il valait mieux remonter le Gange, conquérir le Bengale en allant de Calcutta à Delhi, et rétablir l'Empire Mogol dans son antique splendeur; enfin d'autres, moins ignorants, ont pensé qu'il convenait de descendre directement chez les Mahrattas, d'y opérer de concert avec eux, de rétablir l'Empereur de Delhi dans ses droits, et se servir de lui pour chasser les Anglais de l'Hindoustan.

Sans nous arrêter à combattre les difficultés insurmontables que la

nature opposerait à une entreprise aussi romanesque examinons auparavant si les Chels Mogols, si les nations de l'Inde, ont quelque intérêt à la favoriser." He analyses the situation with great astuteness, and concludes that neither the provincial rulers, Mahomedan as well as Indian, nor the people of India will have any interest in making common cause with the French. "Le projet de rétablir l'Empire Mogol est une chimère qu'il faut abandonner, puisque de grands succès dans l'Inde ne pourraient opérer une révolution, sans nuire aux intérêts de Puissances de cette partie de l'Asie. Il convient à la plupart d'elles que l'Empereur reste tel qu'il est; il ne convient à aucune qu'il devienne aussi puissant, aussi despotique qu'il a été Aurang Zeb., et toute s'opposeraient au rétablissement d'un joug qu'elles ont secoué."

This was the state of things, so far at least as the intrigues of the French were concerned, when the Ministry sent Colonel de Montigny to India with the object of establishing direct negotiations with the Court of Delhi and obtaining first hand knowledge of affairs. Before following the movements of Colonel de Montigny it is appropriate to refer to Alexander Elliot and his wonderful cleverness in tracing this envoy from the court of Versailles at Cairo and discovering with so much exactitude the details of the mission with which he was charged. His letter published in *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol II, page 399 is full of interest in the light of what has gone before in this article, and his was certainly not at all "a hunt on a false scent." It is no less wonderful also that the keen-eyed Warren Hastings missed his man, and "endeavoured to connect Elliot's discoveries with the official accounts received from Bombay of the doings of St. Lubin at Poona."

Colonel de Montigny came to India in the spring of 1778. He had not taken the Suez-Bombay route. From a letter of Anquetil de Briancourt, Consul for France at Surat, written to Montigny, it appears that one M. de Moncrif, bearer of secret missives from the Ministry to Montigny "avait commis l'imprudence de prendre la route Suez-Bombay." The English ransacked his baggage, and found a letter "qui avait causé dans le Gouvernement une activité fébrile et mis tous le monde officiel et militaire de la colonie dans l'agitation la plus extrême." What were the contents of this letter it has not been possible to discover; but from an expression in Anquetil's letter referred to above, it appears "qu'on s'attend à l'arrivée de l'Escadre Française."

It has not been possible for me to trace the movements of Montigny, and his doings in a connected manner. I give them as I have found them in a rather fragmentary form.

In a letter dated the 22nd June 1778, Montigny writes from Ojjain " que le Ministre envoie des choses de la dernière conséquence à Madec." In a postscript he adds "J'apprends dans le moment que M. Madec est parti de Godh depuis dix mois pour Pondichery, cette circonstance toute fâcheuse qu'elle est pour lui, et pour les choses que j'avais à lui communiquer, ne m'empêche pas d'avoir l'honneur de prier l'officier qui commande le détachement de M. Madec d'avoir la bonté d'envoyer à Serende (Sirhind) l'officier qu'il jugera le plus la confiance de M. Madec pour raisonner ensemble sur les objets qui l'intéressent."

Madec had left the Emperor some time in March or April 1777, and joined the Raja of Godh preparatory to his leaving the country. His defeat at the hands of the Rohillas at Fatehpur (29th July 1775) and the loss of credit with the Emperor and chiefly his loss of fortune, led him to give up the life of a free-lance which he had lived with varying fortunes during a period of 30 years. He left his 'Party' with the Raja of Godh under the command of Visage the Surgeon.

Montigny reached Agra on the 1st of August 1778. He writes the following letter to M. de Bellecombe from Agra, on 25th August, but it is doubtful if it ever reached its destination, Pondichery having been invested on 5th August 1778. "Lorsque j'ai quitté Surate je comptais trouver M. Madec ici ou à Delhi: j'ai appris, en route qu'il était parti depuis dix mois environ pour Pondichery, ou il était arrivé. J'avais à lui remettre une lettre du Ministre par laquelle on lui demandait qu'il eût à conférer avec moi sur l'objet d'un mémoire qu'il eut avait envoyé à la Cour et à prendre des arrangements en conséquence. J'étais chargé, aussi de tirer au clair l'Affaire de Tatta, que j'ai reconnu pour un projet inconséquent sur les renseignements certains que j'ai pris d'un homme du pays, et qui ne m'a rien laissé à désirer à cet égard."

In a note affixed to the copy of the above letter the following occurs: "Timour-Chah, Prince du Candahar, a enlevé cette ville sur l'Indus, ainsi que tout le pays que ce fleuve arrose depuis environ trente ans. Il y jouit d'un pouvoir absolu, cent cinquante mille hommes de troupes Persanes qu'il a à sa solde. C'est-à-dire, les meilleures troupes de l'Asie, défendant ce démembrement de l'Empire Mogol."

It was Nadir Shah and not Timur (14th century) who is said to have alienated all the possessions of the Emperor of Delhi beyond the Indus. Sindh is nowhere mentioned as belonging to Nadir Shah or his descendants. So the "renseignements certains que j'ai pris d'un homme du pays" were far from certain. It would be too much to assume that the men on the spot knew less than a man who was only a few weeks in the country, and whose informant was only "un homme du pays," or that the Emperor of Delhi was about to

make a gift of what did not belong to him. Strange to say, however, that the statement of Montigny carried greater weight with the Ministers at home, with what consequences we will see later on. Elsewhere Montigny calls the Tatta project as "le plus sot qu'on eût jamais proposé à l'Administration."

The note next says that M. de Bellecombe had entrusted Visage with the task of negotiating with Najef Khan, that Najef Khan had signed a treaty slightly modified by Chevalier. Montigny broke open the Minister's letter to Madec with a view to find out if the dispositions of the treaty were in consonance with the instructions from Versailles. Then the note continues:

"Najef Khan a reçu M. de Montigny en audience le 8 de ce mois. M. de Montigny lui a exposé qu'il était envoyé du Ministre pour conférer avec M. Madec sur l'objet d'un Mémoire par lui adressé à la Cour, et dont il avait connaissance, qu'ensuite il était chargé, de la part du Ministre de dire qu'on allait faire passer des troupes dans l'Inde—A quoi Najef répondit qu'il avait cent cinquante mille hommes, qu'il était prêt à tenir sa parole, et à attaquer les Anglais, pour peu qu'on lui envoyât 7 à 800 hommes."

Soon after Montigny landed in India rumours of war between France and England reached these shores, which were soon followed by active hostilities. Communication became extremely difficult as the following letters will show:—

AGRA,

The 21st Aout 1778.

A M. Madec.

De M. de Montigny.

Monsieur, je ne puis que vous témoigner mes regrets sur votre promptre retraite à Pondichery, dans un temps où vous touchiez à la veille d'éprouver les bontés du Ministre, et les grâces du Roi. Les ordres ministériels dont j'étais chargé de vous faire part, et particulièrement une lettre de M. de Sartines vous eussent confirmé tout ce que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous annoncer. Mais l'abandon d'un Parti auquel votre réputation donnait de l'éclat, peut changer complètement la face des choses. Je crois qu'il n'y a que votre retour qui puisse faire revivre tout ce que vous aviez à vous promettre des assurances positives du Ministre concernant votre avancement militaire. Je puis vous assurer que le Prince vous reverrait avec plaisir. Quant à moi, je ne puis vous exprimer la joie que j'aurais à traiter avec vous. Voyez M. de Bellecombe. Le Général vous fera part d'une lettre qui vous mettra au fait de ce que je ne puis vous détailler ici."

A note attached to a copy of this letter in the Archives says that the original never reached Madec, the bearer having been caught and executed.

On 12th June 1779, Montigny writes another letter to a M. Beaudoin " Lorsque je suis arrivé à Agra, il y avait environ un an que M. Madek avait quitté son Parti, dont il ne restait plus qu'une vingtaine d'Européens, qui mouraient de faim chez le Rajah de Godh et ailleurs. J'ai écrit plusieurs lettres à M. Madek au nom de M. de Sartines pour le faire revenir sur ses pas ; il est à présumer qu'elles ont été interceptées. Dans ces circonstances, je me suis rabattu auprès des Princes Indiens." The letter adds that Sombre's party, then under the command of Pauli, may yet be counted upon. Najef Khan may also be depended upon, and the letter ends by saying :— " Ne comptez pas sur l'affaire de Tatta, qui est le projet le plus sot qu'on ait jamais présenté à l'Administration. Tatta, sur l'Indus, est un démembrement de l'Empire Mogol, qui appartient depuis trente ans au Roi de Candahar."

After this we lose sight of M. de Montigny till we come to some time after the year 1782. In the Memoir referred to above Law has the following about Montigny :—

" *Au retour* de M. de Montigny, Najef Khan n'existait plus ; il avait été empoisonné (1782). Son neveu Mirza Khafi Khan (otherwise known as Afrasaib Khan) lui avait succédé : M. de Montigny comptait encore sur l'affection de ce Général envers les Français. Mirza Khafi Khan a été assassiné (October 1784), et on a assuré qu'il était alors en négociation ! Enfin, on avait fait valoir auprès du Ministre un Parti Français qui serait chez l'Empereur de Delhi commandé autrefois par Sombre, et alors par M. Paul ou Pauly ; on avait sollicité des Brevets pour des officiers de ce Parti. M. de Montigny ne désespérait pas de se placer un jour à leur tête, et mettre en mouvement l'Empereur, pour décider la Revolution de l'Hindoustan. *A son retour* il apprit que le sieur Pauly avait été décapité par ordre d'un des généraux de l'Empereur pour avoir pris les intérêts de ce même Empereur qui n'a pu lui sauver la vie."

From the above extract, is it going too far to suppose that Montigny had returned to France and come back again to India sometime in 1782 ?

In March 1777, Sieur de St. Lubin reached India on a diplomatic Mission from the Ministry in France. I reproduce here one of his letters, which will be of interest in this connection.

Monseigneur, daignez agréer l'hommage que je vous fais de mes premiers succès dans la carrière ouverte à mon zèle et à mon activité. La mission dont Sa Majesté m'a honoré à la Cour Mabratte est rempli, et toutes mes espérances à cet égard sont ratifiées. Le traité d'Alliance et de commerce entre les deux Couronnes est signé, juré. L'Alliance met nos établissements sous la protection de la première Puissance de l'Hindoustan. Le Commerce

libre ouvert à nos marchands dans toute l'étendue de la domination Mahratte y est à l'abri des molestations qu'il éprouve dans le reste de l'Inde ; et le ports Mahrattes, ouverts en tout temps à nos vaisseaux, leur assurent toutes les ressources qu'on peut attendre d'une nation guerrière, navigatrice, cultivatrice et commerçante, qui fait cause commune avec nous.

Voilà, Monseigneur, un présent qu'aucun règne, aucun Ministre n'avait fait à la France en Asie. Nos rivaux en frémissent, et la sensation que cette nouvelle aura fait chez eux en Europe les rendra, sans doute, très circonspects à notre égard ; car ils sauront estimer ce qu'une rupture avec nous leur ferait infailliblement perdre ici. La situation de leur port de Bombay entre les deux ports Mahrattes, Chaoul et Bassein, est surtout pour eux une image effrayante. Ce port, jusqu'à présent la principale cause de leur supériorité, à l'avenir, pressé par les deux autres au Nord et au Sud, dans le court espace de 18 lieues, sans aucune ressource du côté de la terre pour les radoubs et les subsistances, tandis que nos escadres auraient, sur leurs derrières, toute l'Empire Mahratte voué à nous fournir ce qui serait refusé à l'ennemi. Voilà pour eux un avenir terrible, et sans doute, ils feront les plus grands efforts pour se tirer de cette entrave. Ils ont déjà offert aux Mahrattes, de leur vendre Salsette, et de leur livrer Ragouba, s'ils voulaient renoncer à notre alliance ; l'offre a été rejetée avec dédain. 'Quand nous voudrons Salsette' a dit le Ministère Mahratte, 'nous le prendrons ; quant à Ragouba, nous vous avons défendu de nous parler de lui. Et pour notre alliance avec la France c'est une religion inviolable.'

M. de Sartine vous communiquera sans doute, Monseigneur, le rapport détaillé que je lui fait de nos transactions. J'ose me flatter que vous en serez content, &c..... Le Ch. de Saint-Lubin. A Pounah, capitale de l'Empire Mahratte, ce 26 Juillet 1777.

The above letter gives more precise information about the nature of the negotiations and their ultimate result than can be found elsewhere. Even allowing for what I have called Gallic exuberance which is distinctly out of place in a state document like the above, we can see that the object of the mission was to secure a port in a friendly country under the protection of the all powerful Mahrattas for the same purpose for which Tatta Bakar was to be obtained from the Emperor, namely, the landing of a French force in support of a coalition against the British.

Such a force was sent to India—the army of Bussy, and the squadron of Suffren, in 1782. It was a formidable force, but instead of that force being sent to the north, it was directed to the south. The reports of Montigny with regard to Tatta, the hollowness of the alliance with the Mahrattas, combined with the anxiety for the safety of the "chef lieu" which prevented the Ministers in Paris from taking a true perspective of events, and which

had always made them misread the lesson of history namely that the centre of gravity of Empire in India was never in the south, but always and for ever in the north, caused this deviation from the original project propounded by Chevalier and Madec, and at one time accepted by the Ministry. The result of the expedition of Bussy and Suffren is well known and needs no recapitulation here. For once the Ministers in Paris had a clear vision of the situation in India when they said "le Bengale qui est le tronc de l'arbre, dont Madras et Bombay ne sont que les branches." But this clear vision was obscured by the reports of men like Law and Montigny and the last great attempt to revive the French power in India was a dismal failure.

The story of Chevalier's escape (10th July 1778²¹) the part played by his wife in it, his capture by Alexander Elliot at Cuttack, his return to Calcutta and then to Chandernagar on parole—controversy in the Council of Calcutta regarding his ultimate destination—his leaving India in a *Danish* ship have all been recorded in *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. II, page 390 *et seq.*

From the papers at Chandernagar, I find him back to that place in the first week of September 1778, and busy himself settling his affairs. He pays up his debts: one amounting to Rs. 19,349-5 annas 2 gondas to M. Metard, is paid up on the 9th of September. On the 15th of the same month, François Sabique "homme d'affaires de M. J. B. Chevalier" declares before the Greffier that "M. Leonard Collins, Commissionnaire nommé par le Conseil Suprême de Calcutta pour les affaires relatives à la prise de Chandernagar" had that day handed over to him the keys (18 in number) of M. Chevalier's warehouse. Sabique deposits the keys in the "Greffie" pending verification of the goods in the magazine and the dressing up of an inventory. It was suspected that the warehouse had been tampered with, though soldiers were still guarding it.

Two days after Chevalier files a protest against Collins having compelled his "homme d'affaires" to give a clear discharge for the merchandise in the magazine. The protest was made before the Greffier at Garati, where Chevalier was putting up at the time, in the presence of Samson du Clos, Chief of Balasore and Mathieu Nicola Fournier, merchant.

The contents of the warehouse were verified on the 17th, and found exact. Besides the merchandise, mainly cotton and silk goods belonging to Chevalier, there were things owned by other merchants: Corniere, Gilbert, Bonneton, Mad. Vadoré, Fortier, Calois Delon; Trobrian, Mad. Chevalier, Grenier, Horygos (Hari Ghosh) and Sabique.

In the inventory among a whole host of things figure: "1 Grand tapis de la Maison de Garatty" and "Le Vau. le St. Antoine" with a cargo of rice on board.

Chevalier grants the following letter of discharge, "Je soussigné reconnois que M. Leonard Colins, Commissaire nommé par le Conseil Suprême de Calcutta concernant les affaires relatives à la prise de Chandernagar m'a remis les effets et marchandises de mes magasins qui avaient resté sous la saisie jusqu'à ce jour, le tout suivant l'inventaire qui lui en avoit été fourni dans le temps par le nommé Sabique mon homme d'affaires, sauf toute reserve de droit. Fait et arrêté à Chandernagar le 16th, 7bre 1778. Chevalier.

The words "sauf toute reserve de droit" are scored out. The receipt is dated 16th and must have been written out before the verification took place.

On the last day of October 1778, Chevalier appoints his wife his legal representative in all matters concerning his estate in India and the Isles of France and Bourbon for which he gives the following motive, "étant sur le point de partir de ce pais cy pour un voyage de long cours."

In December he was still picking up his outstandings. On the 10th Michel Nicolas de Calnois pays him Rs. 2,623-13 annas 3 gondas; on the 15th he was still at Garati.

The first trace of Madame Chevalier is found in a marriage contract, dated 5th February 1774, where under the signature of Chevalier the following name is written in a feminine hand "Daligny Chevalier." In a power of attorney, dated the 25th July of the same year the following preamble occurs: "Fut present en sa personne Dame Marie Anne Robin de la Tramblaye Daligny Mineure, épouse non-commune en biens de Mesire Jean Baptiste Chevalier, Ecuyer, Lieutenant-Colonel d'Infanterie, Chevalier de l'Ordre Royale et Militaire de St. Louis, Commandant pour le Roy de toutes les établissements dans le Bengale."

Daligny Chevalier in the above document confirms a power of attorney given by her while in France, on 20th June 1770, to her father "Marie Robin de Tramblaye, Chevalier Daligny en la Chancellerie du Palais de Paris."

Chevalier came to India in 1752, since which date he does not seem to have been away from India till 1779. He is spoken of as a minor in 1751, and it is not quite probable that he was a married man at the time. The marriage may have taken place in India at sometime between 1771 and 1773. I find no trace of the marriage in the papers for 1771 and 1772 and the records for 1773 cannot be traced. The issues of this marriage were a daughter who was born at Garati in 1776, and died shortly after baptism and two other children one of which was "at the breast" (1) when Chevalier left India.

(1) *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. II, page 350; Vol. IV, p. 420.

We lose sight of Chevalier from the 12th June 1779, the date of the letter written by him from Sebelahah (*Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. II, page 416.) This "fonctionnaire négociant," as a certain French writer calls him, spent nearly all his fortune in carrying on diplomatic negotiations on behalf of France in spite of France herself, and I have grave doubts if his services to his country were better appreciated than those of a greater man than he, but whose love for his "patrie" was not less than his. Chevalier did not meet his "fate" in the deserts of Egypt: a "Mémoire sur les Quatre Circars" by Chevalier is in existence in the archives of Paris (Affaires Etrangères-Asie. Mémoires et Documents, 1687—1810: Vol. IV, page 247; also Marine, 1778. B4, Vol. 150) dated from Paris, before the end of the war. There is further evidence of Chevalier being alive and most probably in Paris in an anonymous "Mémoire sur la Nécessité d'entretenir un Ambassadeur à la Cour de Delhi," dated Paris, the 15th October 1781. In this memoir Chevalier is mentioned as the fittest person to be employed in that post of importance. "Il est incontestable que, pour remplir une mission aussi importante M. Chevalier est le seul qui remplisse toutes les conditions nécessaires. Il parle parfaitement toutes les langues: il a donné des preuves non-équivoques, dans tous ses mémoires et ses écrits, des connaissances profondes qu'il a acquises sur le pays, ainsi que sur la Politique et les intérêts de tous les Princes, avec lesquels il n'a cessé d'entretenir toutes les correspondances le plus suivies. Il est aimé et estimé de l'Empereur, de son Général, et de tous les principaux de la cour. Et par-dessus tout cela il a encore l'avantage d'être Lieutenant-General de l'Empire (this is perhaps the French rendering of the title and rank of *Hapt-Hasari* (1) which Chevalier received from the Emperor), rang qui donne un très grand relief à la Cour, qui lui accorde ses libres entrées auprès du Prince, et qui lui subordonne tous les autres Nabobs moins élevés en grade." (2)

CHARU CHANDRA RAY.

(1) Commandant of 7,000 troopers.

(2) The documents quoted in this Note, where the origin is not specially mentioned, are from *La Nabob Rend Madec* by Emile Barbé, (1894.)

Leaves from the Editor's Note-Book.

WITH the deepest sorrow we record the death on 1st January 1919, of one of the most eminent and most liberal supporters of our society—the Most Rev. George Alfred Leiray, D.D. : D.O.L., Metropolitan of all India and Ceylon, and Bishop of Calcutta. It is with special pleasure that we, by the kindness of Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd and the courtesy of the *Calcutta Diocesan Record*, include in the present issue a portrait of one whom nearly every one of our readers will remember with love and esteem as a warm-hearted personal friend and a sympathetic leader of every good cause in Bengal. R. I. P.

It is with great regret we notice in the English papers the report of the death of Mr. James Sutherland Cotton. To all who have worked at the Library of the Record Department of the India Office the personality of the late Mr. Cotton was familiar. No one perhaps had so wide a knowledge of the Indian State papers, and no one could have been more generous in imparting help and advice to students, and it is well-known that Mr. Cotton's judgments were valued by no persons so deeply as by veterans in the department of historical research. The present writer has a tribute of his own to make to Mr. Cotton's sympathy and kindness.

The following letter is of interest as a record of an earth-quake experienced at Chittagong in the year 1762:—

Fort William Consultation,

14th May 1762.

The 1st May 1762.

To Harry Verelst, Esq.

Sir,

The earth-quake that happen'd on the end of April at 5 p.m. had made such devastation that nothing but a view of the place would give credit to the several reports made thereof, a specimen is too apparent in this sketch of Cat Colley. The black figures express the former and the red the present soundings. The prick'd line among the trees shew where the former borders of the creek were, while the trees shew how far they stand in the water. I sailed through the middle of them, and sometimes found four fathoms. Juhuda River at the entrance for a mile is entirely stopt, and before there was from two to four fathoms. The shoal on the right hand going is entirely sunk, and I found four fathoms where it used

to be dry at low water. However, it is still a very safe harbour, and easier now to enter by its being wider, but the shore on each side appears to be unpracticable to be made habitable, being low and almost overflowed in the springs. The tide rises here in the change 12 feet 3 inches perpendicular.

I am, Sir, with respect,

Your most obedient servant,

BARTHO. PLAISTED.

I venture to think that the following papers relative to the capture of the Fort at Burreia will be of interest:—

Publ. Prov., 29th May 1771.

PATNA,

The 4th May 1771.

Hon'ble. Sir & Sirs.

We have been duly honored with your commands under date the 16th and 17th April.

Agreeably to your orders we have caused publication to be made that you have been pleased to lay open the trade between these Provinces and the territories of the neighbouring Provinces.

We have acquainted Mr. Hunter with your orders regarding his allowances, and shall strictly observe your directions in future.

There is a strong Fort called Burreia in Sircar Sarun on which by reason of its strength and situation the collections of that Sircar and the security of all that part of the country in case of troubles would greatly depend. Strong representations to this purpose were made to us by our Supervisor there, and it appearing to us very improper that such a Fort should be held by a zemindar within our territories independent of the Government, we summoned him to deliver it up to us; and, upon his refusing to do so, found it necessary to order it to be attacked.

From the enquires which Mr. Golding had made, it appeared to us probable that five companies of sepoys and two pieces of cannon would have been sufficient to reduce it; but upon Captain Ashe's appearing before it, the strength of it was found considerably greater than was expected, and the garrison more numerous. We therefore judged it advisable to apply to Colonel Champion for a force sufficient to insure the reduction of it before the setting in of the rains, and he has accordingly sent a re-inforcement under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard, and we hope soon to hear of its fall.

We are, &c.,

Joseph Jekyll.

George Vansittart.

Robert Palk.

To the Hon'ble John Cartier, Esq.,

President and Governor, &c., Council of Fort William.

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

We had the honor of addressing you the 14th instant, enclosing you a copy of the terms which Colonel Champion had sent us of the surrender of Barreria; we have since received another letter from him with further particulars of the terms granted to the garrison. We transmit for your observation a copy of the Colonel's letter of the terms and also of the letter we wrote him in answer. We further transmitted you a copy of a letter which we have received from Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard and beg to be favored with your orders relative to the effects which have been taken in the Forts. We will send you a list of these effects as soon as we receive it.

We are sorry to inform you that on the afternoon of Wednesday the 15th as Rajah Murlidar was sleeping in his own house he was assassinated by one of his menial servants named Manick. This man belonged formerly to Muttoramull (who was one of Meer Jaffier's principal Hircarrahs in his first Government and was afterwards put to death by Mir Cossim), and he was about nine months ago recommended to Rajah Murlidar by Muttoramull's wife—who in consequence took him into his service. The reason he assigns for committing so horrid an act is that Rajah Murlidar had suspected him of having stolen a small quantity of pearl, and threatened him with severe punishment. Rajah Setabroy has put the man under strict confinement, and purposes to have him executed agreeably to the laws of the country government, but desires to know first if there are here any further enquiries, which you would wish to have made.

The following is a list of the family which Rajah Murlidar has left behind him:—

His lawful wife.

One daughter by her married to Salook Ram, by whom she has a son 9 years old.

Two daughters by a wife of inferior rank who is now dead—both widows and without children.

Chutoo Baboo, his uncle's son, who was jointly concerned with him in such parts of his possession as descended from his ancestors and had the principal charge of the business under him.

We have for the present continued the dawks under the charge of Chutoo Baboo, and have nominally joined Salook Ram with him on account of his affinity with Rajah Murlidar, although he has been represented to us as a man unfit for business. With regard to jagheers and what other lands Rajah Murlidar possessed rent-free, we have ordered they shall be taken under charge of the Government until we are favored with your orders, which we request you will send to us as soon as you conveniently can, as well on this subject as with regard to the charge of the dawks and hircarrahs for which business Rajah Seetabroy recommends the before-mentioned Chootu Baboo as the most capable person he knows. We beg

leave to refer it to your consideration whether whatever person you think proper to appoint to this important trust should not be allowed a jagheer or some such indulgence in order to attach him more firmly to your Government.

Patna,
The 18th May 1771.

We are, &c.,
Joseph Jekyll.
Geo. Vansittart,
Roht. Palk.

To the Hon'ble John Cartier, Esq.,
President and Governor, &c., Council of Fort William.

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

We have the honor to advise you of the surrender of the Fort of Burreria, and to enclose you the terms on which it was delivered up.

We further beg leave to enclose you extracts from our correspondence with Colonel Champion regarding Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard's acting under our orders while on this service and request to be favored with your commands for our guidance on any future occasion.

Patna,
The 14th May 1771.

We are, &c.,
Joseph Jekyll.
Geo. Vansittart.
Robert Palk.

Ordered the enclosures to be entered after the Proceedings.

The Board being of opinion that the necessity for undertaking any expedition can never be so urgent as not to admit their receiving information of it before undertaken. That the Dewaney Sepoys should be confined merely to the collection of the revenues :—

Resolve that no Fort or place shall be attacked or reduced without previous intelligence is transmitted to them, and their sanction obtained.

The Board deem it necessary for the prevention of dispute, and the expediting the public service that troops drafted from the Brigade on the application of the Council of Revenue at Patna should be entirely under their orders. The Commanders of Brigades to have no further command over them, than receiving returns of the state of the detachment.

Agreed that the effects found in the Fort of Burreria shall be restored to the owner excepting those appertaining to the Zemindar, such part of which shall be detained as are sufficient to indemnify the Co. should any arrears be due from him, and Resolved that the Council of Revenue at Patna be informed thereof in the following letter :—

To Mr. Joseph Jekyll,
Chief, &c., Council of Revenue at Patna.
Gentlemen,

Your letters of the 14th and 18th instant, with their several enclosures have come to hand the latter informing us of the capitulation of the Fort of Burreria.

We cannot approve of any Military Expeditions being set on foot without our previous knowledge and consent, and are surprized you should not have given us intelligence of your designs previous to the application you made for a reinforcement from the Brigade. The particular inducements you had for adopting this measure are contained in your letter of the 4th May, and that of the 18th brings us intelligence of the whole being concluded—so that the former was apparently transmitted to us merely for information and not intentionally to wait our application.

As we imagine it can seldom happen that a delay of so short a space of time as is requisite to acquaint us of your intentions and receive our Resolutions thereon can be of material prejudice, we direct that in future no expedition whatever be entered upon without our previous sanction, and that the Dewaney sepoys are not to be employed on such services, but entirely confined to the business of the Revenues and protecting the country from the incursions of the mountaineers.

In your Proceedings we observe your reasons for dispossessing the zemindar of the Fort of Burreria were the apprehensions of his being a dangerous neighbour in case of trouble from its strength and situation, but, as he has hitherto never shown any tendency to disaffection, but we believe has regularly paid his rents, we think nothing but political necessity could justify our depriving him of his natural rights, otherwise than by negotiation and compromise. In this time of general tranquillity such necessity does not appear to exist—nor ought you to be the judge of it, and therefore the expedition should not have met with our approbation had we been apprized of it, but as it may now probably be an encouragement to other zemindars to be obstinate were we to deliver back the Fort to him, we are under the necessity of withholding it for Government. However, in justice to the zemindar we desire full restitution of all effects found in the Fort on its capitulation—to be made to the proprietors except those immediately belonging to the zemindar, which in case of his being in arrears to the Government for Revenue are to be detained till he discharges the debt, or if he refuses so to do, such part of them to be sold as will suffice for that purpose, and the remainder are to be restored to him, and you are to nominate persons to see this duly and justly executed. And all the people who were in the Fort are to be suffered to depart without molestation.

To facilitate the dispatch of the public service and prevent any delay that might arise from difference of opinion or distinct authorities we have resolved that any troops applied for by the Chief and Council of Revenue at Patna shall be entirely under their orders, nor is the Commander of the Brigade to have further command over them than receiving returns of the detachment from the Officers Commanding it. This Resolution we have made known to the Commander-in-Chief.

We are highly offended with the conduct of Captain Carnac, Commanding the Expedition to Pallamow, who has hitherto neglected sending the customary returns either to the President or General, Sir Robert Barker. We are inclined to hope this Gentleman has through inattention rather than design fallen into this

error, and therefore desire you will direct him to make a suitable apology both to our President and to the General, for the omission of an indispensable duty.

We are, &c.,

Fort William,
The 29th May 1771.

Agreed that we inform General Barker thereof, transmitting him copies of the correspondence relative to the subject.

Agreed that the paragraph in the letter of the 18th, relating to the murder of Murlidar be referred to the Committee of Revenue.

Read the following letter from General Sir Robert Barker, referred at our last Council to be answered at this meeting:—

To the Hon'ble John Cartier,

President, &c., Gentlemen of the Select Committee.

Gentlemen,

Colonel Alexander Champion has informed me he has not been able to comply with the Chief of the Patna Factory's request for three Companies of Sepoys exclusive of the four Companies doing duty in that Garrison to enforce the Collector's Authority in the Sircar Saran pergunnahs, as the Colonel has only two Battalions until the arrival of the detachment and the relief of the factory, he has therefore detached two Companies for that purpose.

I beg leave to lay before you some remarks on this subject. I always understood that it was intended that the pergunnah sepoy were established for the collection of the Revenues of the Provinces of Bengal and Behar. If this was the real purpose for which such an establishment has been formed, the intention is perverted for they are now made use of to form Military Expeditions, and make conquest,—at a time when the regular Brigade sepoy are unemployed in their cantonments. I shall not trouble you with a rehearsal of the several expeditions in which the pergunnah sepoy have generally failed—but I shall confine myself to this last conquest of Palamow. I am thoroughly acquainted with the importance of this pass through the hills. I think it ought to have been attempted with your regular troops and not have ventured the reputation of our arms in the hands of a parcel of undisciplined troops. Luckily for us they evacuated the Fort of Palamow, and there was no occasion to try an assault.

This is not the only bad consequence that arises from these Military Pergunnah Expeditions by collecting large bodies together such as the detachment under Captain Carnac. The collections suffer: the zemindars become refractory and application is made to the Brigades for sepoy to enforce the Collector's authority. Here we find the Brigade Sepoy employed in the collections at a time when the pergunnahs are on actual service. I must add also the mortification it is to those officers in your Brigades who are daily employed and labouring to bring the troops to that discipline from which they hope to build their reputation, when they see

the pergunnah sepoy employed on service and their own Battallions broke into a number of detachments for the assistance of the collections.

Having represented to you the impropriety of the mode of forming this expedition, I must now, Gentlemen, beg leave to observe to you that this Military Expedition was planned and put into execution by a gentleman of the Civil Department at a time when I was at Patna, without my knowledge, advice or concurrence, and I am informed even without the concurrence of the Board. This I am inclined to believe as I am convinced had you gentlemen intended the reduction you would have wrote to me who was in the Province. The expedition was formed by a Civil Servant, a Military man must have lost his bread, and reputation by such an attempt. Two Companies of the Brigade Sepoy were also detached from the Patna factory in support of this expedition.

It is from these circumstances the officers in the pergunnah service form to themselves an independance of their superiors in the army highly inconsistent with the nature of our service, and it is only that I would not have it appear that I have thrown my resentment on an individual of this detachment that I have not put Captain Carnac under an arrest, for not having sent me a single return or any information whatever during the expedition, not even of the killed and wounded if any there were.

Since writing the above, I am informed by Colonel Champion that Mr. Jekyll has made a request for a further reinforcement of two Companys more which the Colonel has granted, and I have learnt that the detachment with some of the Pergunnah Companies of Sepoy are intended for the reduction of the Fort of Burreria. Permit me to observe to you that this Fort, which they have undertaken to reduce, from my own knowledge, is a Fort of strength, has a considerable wet ditch surrounding it, with two walls and a Fausselbray-garrisoned by a number of people, a place which cannot be taken by a *coup de main*, and requires some plan for its attack. The Colonel Commg the 1st Brigade at Dinapore, should have been desired to reduce this Fort which he would have done in a secure manner, but instead of which detachments are demanded for purposes unknown and placed under the Command of a Pergunnah Officer who has never seen any service in this country.

Colonel Champion being informed that the intention of this detachment was to reduce Burreria, whose strength he also knew, very properly recommended to Mr. Jekyll that he would direct a blockade to be formed until he had wrote to me and a large reinforcement could be sent. In consequence of which I have directed Colonel Champion to form a sufficient detachment for the reduction of this place with some heavy cannon and mortars, for I am convinced they will be under the necessity of breaking ground before place.

I have, &c.,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant.

ROBERT BARKER.

Allum Chund,
The 26th April 1771.

Agreed we do reply in the following manner:—

To Brigadier-General Sir Robert Barker,
Commander-in-Chief of the Force under the Presidency.

Sir,

Enclosed we have the pleasure to transmit you copy of a correspondence, between the Revenue Council at Patna, and Colonel Champion relative to the right of issuing orders to the troops drafted from the Brigade to be employed in the service of the collections, and to a dispute which arose concerning the detachment sent to reduce the zemindar of Burreria to obedience under the Command of Colonel Goddard. Also copy of our letter to that Council. In reply to which we refer you for our opinion of the capitulation and the orders that we have thought proper to give relating to the effects found in the Fort.

To facilitate the dispatch of the public service and prevent any delay which may arise from difference of opinion we have resolved that all troops applied for by the Chief and Council of Revenue at Patna when drafted from the Brigades shall be entirely under their orders and that the Commanders of Brigades shall not interfere with such detachments except in receiving the customary returns.

By our letter to the Chief and Council of Revenue you will perceive, we have directed a full restitution to be made of everything taken in the Fort of Burreiah—except the effects immediately appertaining to the zemindar which in case of his being in debt to the Government for Revenues are to be detained to indemnify the Co. if necessary, and proper persons are to be appointed to see this order strictly adhered to; also that all persons be permitted to quit the Fort without molestation.

It will appear to you, Sir, that in our letter to the gentlemen at Patna we have directed Captain Carnac to make an ample apology for his disrespect, and must in future leave it entirely to you, should any instances of the like nature occur, to pursue such measures as may appear most consistent to preserve a proper subordination.

We are, &c.,

Fort William.

The 29th May 1771.

At a Consultation.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble John Cartier.

PRESIDENT:

Claud Russell.

William Aldersey.

Thomas Kelsall.

Charles Floyer.

John Reed, Esq.

To Joseph Jekyll, Esq.,
Chief, &c., Comptrolling Council of Revenue at Patna.

Gentlemen,

I have just received a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard with the accompanying articles of capitulation granted to the Garrison of Burreriah Fort.

Head-quarters :
Dinapore,
The 14th May 1771.

I am,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient humble servant,
A. CHAMPION.

Articles of capitulation granted to the Garrison of Burreriah by Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Goddard:—

1st.—That the undermentioned articles be strictly and inviolably be adhered to.

2nd.—That three Principal Officers shall attend to see the Garrison evacuate the Fort and the several articles carried into execution agreeable to the capitulation.

3rd.—That they have liberty to carry off their books and papers of every kind.

4th.—That they shall remain in possession of their zemindary in the name of and for Shaik Faccur Oolla, and that the payment of 10,000 rupees which they have made annually for these some years past for permission to retain the Garrison of Burreriah be discontinued, but the latter part of this article to be submitted to the pleasure of the Chief and Council of the Revenue at Patna.

5th.—That the Garrison shall surrender their arms, but the men of distinction be permitted to retain their swords and targets.

6th.—That the women be sacred; those of distinction to the number of 45 shall be permitted to proceed without the least molestation whithersoever they please and to carry off their usual ornaments of silver and gold. Their female attendants to have their usual ornaments of silver and brass.

7th.—That they shall have such an allowance as may to the Colonel appear proper and necessary to defray their expences until they may reach Sewan, the intended place of their residence to which they shall proceed without delay.

8th.—That the Fort, Warlike Stores, Arms, effects, &c., not particularly specified in the foregoing articles shall remain in the possession of the conquerors, and that two persons of trust on my part and the same on theirs shall be appointed to take an account of the different articles thus surrendered.

(Signed) THOMAS GODDARD,
Lt.-Col., 1st Brigade.

No. 3.

To Colonel Alexr. Champion,
Commanding the 1st Brigade at Dinapore.

Sir,

We have received your letter of the 14th instant, enclosing the articles of capitulation which you mention to have been granted to the Garrison of Burreria. As we are the persons with whom the confirmation and execution necessarily rest, we think you should have sent the original articles to have been deposited with us. We must further observe that the copy which you sent us is not even attested.

We request you will acquaint Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard that we have applied to the Hon'ble the President and Council for their orders regarding the effects, &c., which were taken in the Fort.

We are, &c.,

Joseph Jekyll.
Geo. Vansittart.
Robert Palk.

Patna,
The 18th May 1771.

No. 4.

To Joseph Jekyll, Esq.,
Chief, &c., Council of Revenue at Patna.

Gentlemen,

I have received your letters of the 4th and 7th instant. The lenient terms you prescribed me to grant to the Garrison of Burreria, I fear, have given them an opportunity of conveying away a great part of their valuables, but I hope it will appear to you by the articles of capitulation that I took every precaution in my power to prevent it without exceeding the limits of your orders. To secure the effects, etc., from plunder, I have not suffered any of the troops to enter the Fort, and Lieutenant Johnstone and Grant are appointed to take account of them. I believe the whole of the captures will not exceed the amount of 15,000 rupees. This being so trifling a sum I hope you will not deprive the troops of it, and I am induced to solicit you in their behalf on this occasion from the readiness they have shewn to execute their duty. I could enumerate many instances where the *plunder* has been given up to the *conquerors*, but one in particular very similar to this when Captain Wilding reduced Housepoore everything was yielded to him by Mr. Rumbold, and I am well informed to a considerable amount. I therefore doubt not the same indulgence will be allowed to us.

I am with respect, &c.,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,
Thomas Goddard.

Camp at Burreria,
The 13th May 1771.

Terms on which the Fort of Burreria surrendered:—

1st *Artl.*—The persons of the women in the Garrison shall be sacred, and shall have leave to depart to any town within this district. They shall also be allowed to carry with them their wearing apparell, cooking utensils and ornaments

the latter to consist only of gold, silver and brass. Each women shall be searched by another appointed by me for that purpose and suffered to carry no more than what is the custom of the country to be usually worn; and

and.—Every warlike store, etc., shall be delivered up to me and Commissaries appointed on both sides to take an exact account of them.

3rd.—The troops of the Garrison shall be at the mercy of the conquerors.

No. 6.

To Joseph Jekyll, Esq.,

Chief, &c., Council of Revenue at Patna.

Gentlemen,

Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard having arrived here last night, he made me acquainted with the instructions he had received from Colonel Champion by which I conceive the whole management of the Burreriahs business is now to rest with the gentlemen of the Brigade as well as with respect to treaty with the zemindars to the attack on the Fort for Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard is ordered in case of Fucker Ulla's offering any terms, to refer them to Colonel Champion and wait his answer on the subject of them, I am only anxious for the promotion of the Public Service and to avoid an embarrassment which the contradiction of your former orders to me, without my having received any advice of it from you, Gentlemen, may lead me into. The zemindar has before been directed to look on me as the channel through which his applications were to be made, and will of course continue to do so, but should he within a few days send an officer to me to deliver up to the Fort on the terms before mentioned to him, for I imagine Colonel Goddard would not think himself authorised to cease the attack on any representation from me, and thereby run the risk of not succeeding before the rains in case the terms could not be approved of.

As I shall in every occurrence of my station be careful not to exceed the bounds of the authority you have thought proper to give me, so shall I on the other be equally diligent on all occasions to act up to what I conceive to be the real meaning and intention of your orders. I must therefore be favored with your directions how far I should or should not interfere in this affair of Burreriahs, and you may depend on the strictest observance of them on my part.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

EDWD. GOLDING.

Supervisor of Sircar Sarun.

Sircar Sarun,

The 3rd May 1771.

To Colonel Alexr. Champion,

Commanding the 1st Brigade.

Sir,

Enclosed we transmit your copy of a letter which we have just received from Mr. Golding, by which it appears that you have reserved to yourself the acceptance

or refusal of any offers which the Burreiah Zemindar may make of delivering up the Fort. We should be obliged to you for a copy of your instructions to Colonel Goddard, and also beg to be favored with an answer to our letter of the 30th ultimo.

As we apprehend the terms to be granted the zemindar should depend entirely upon our determination, we should think ourselves obliged to make immediate reference to the Hon'ble the Governor and Council, unless you will be pleased to direct Colonel Goddard to obey our orders on that subject.

We are,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants,

(Sd.) Joseph Jekyll.

George Vansittart.

Robert Palk.

Patna,

The 5th May 1771.

To Joseph Jekyll, Esq.,

Chief, &c., Council of Revenue at Patna.

Gentlemen.

Early in the morning, I was favored with your letter of this date, enclosed Mr. Golding's letters which I have perused with attention, and likewise the instructions which I gave Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard.

The observation which Mr. Golding has made is far wide of the intent and meaning of my orders. And I flatter myself that you will find that I have reserved the issuing only of orders military, nor will I on this occasion interfere with any Civil Department.

Enclosed is a copy of my instructions to the Commanding Officer. If you will please to point out to me wherein the service can be forwarded to the Company's interest, I will with pleasure pay a due attention to it.

You require, Gentlemen, answer to your letter of the 30th ultimo. I conceive only means in regard to a return of the troops, which shall be sent you as soon as the different detachments are collected in one body that you may be the better judges of the strength of the detachment, so that the necessary orders may pass from you for their subsistence.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Head-Quarters :

Dinapore,

The 5th May 1771.

Your most obedient and very humble servant.

A. Champion.

Copy of the Instructions for Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard ;—

To Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard,

Commanding the Sepoy Corps belonging to the 1st Brigade.

Sir,

You will please to march immediately and take command of that detachment before Burreiah Fort and use such measures as you think necessary for the

reduction of it, any capitulation which may be offered, you will please to advise me immediately of the terms, that I may acquaint the Chief of Patna therewith, unless they capitulate for military honors, then you will be the best judge in receiving them and it will only save time.

You will also at all events endeavour to secure the principal people in the Fort, that the Chief of Patna may dispose of them as he pleases, being the best judge on what terms they are to receive their liberty.

I could wish to receive as soon as possible a return from you, that Mr. Jekyll may send the necessary orders for supplying the troops with provisions. Captain Briscoe will follow with the remainder of the detachment. You will please write me on your arrival and continue to advise me of your operations.

Should the Chief of Patna send any orders which may regard any of the districts or the interest of the Company in any Civil Department you will pay a proper attention to them.

You will send your returns in the usual manner.

Head-Quarters;

Dinapore,

The 2nd May 1771.

I am, &c.,

Alexr. Champion.

To Colonel A. Champion,
Commanding 1st Brigade.

Sir,

We have been favored with your letter of the 5th. The part of our letter of the 30th April to which we chiefly desired an answer was what related to the terms of capitulation, as we had received no answer from you, we apprehended that you had acquiesced in our sentiments on that subject, and were therefore surprised at the information transmitted us by Mr. Golding of your having given orders to Colonel Goddard of a contrary tenor.

We are obliged to you for the copy thereof which you have now sent us; and what we have to request concerning them is—that you will direct Colonel Goddard to obey such instructions as he may receive from us relative to the terms to be granted the zemindar if he should offer to capitulate as we conceive. We only are responsible for them that they must be regulated entirely by our resolutions. As we are told there is some money and effects as well as stores in the Fort and the zemindar is in arrears to the Government we purpose desiring Colonel Goddard to secure them and send us a list of them, that we may transmit to the Hon'ble the Governor and Council, and request their instructions for the disposal of them.

We had already written to Colonel Goddard before we heard from Mr. Golding, and we enclose a copy of our letter for your information, and that therefore there would be an impropriety, as well as a needless delay, in their being transmitted through you, with respect to any demands which may be made. Military Honors only, we have no objection to leaving to Colonel Goddard's judgment. The season will not admit of the operations of the siege being suspended whilst

proposals are transmitted to Patna—lest the rains should set in and impede or defeat the attack.

Patna,
The 6th May 1771.

We are, &c.,
Joseph Jekyll.
George Vansittart.
Robert Palk.

To Joseph Jekyll, Esq.,
Chief, &c., Council of Revenue at Patna.

Gentlemen,

I have received your letter, dated 6th May, and the copy of the one you sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard.

When anything of consequence occurs regarding the siege, I shall not fail to acquaint you therewith.

Head-Quarters ;
Dinapore,
The 7th May 1771.

I am, &c.,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient and humble servant.
Alexr. Champion.

To Colonel Alexr. Champion,
Commanding the 1st Brigade.

Sir,

We have been favored with your letter of this day's date, and have again to observe that you do not inform us whether or not you will direct Colonel Goddard to follow our instructions with regard to settling the terms of capitulation with the zamindar. Enclosed we transmit you a copy of our letter to Colonel Goddard with which we request you will enjoin his compliance.

Patna,
The 7th May 1771.

We are,
Sir,
Your obedient humble servants.
Joseph Jekyll.
George Vansittart.
Robert Palk.

To Joseph Jekyll, Esq.,
Chief, &c., Council of Revenue at Patna.

Gentlemen,

I have this day received your letter, dated 7th May, and the one enclosed of the same date to Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard.

In reply to your observations, I imagine my instructions to Colonel Goddard.

and my letter to you, dated 5th instant, answered fully that part but for your further satisfaction orders have been sent him according to your desire.

I could wish, Gentlemen, you would let your sentiments pass through me to Colonel Goddard by which there would be no mistake, for he must abide by his instructions from me unless I send him directions to the contrary. Nor do I conceive that it would in the least lessen your consequence, it being my duty to acquiesce with your sentiments in any representations for the Company's interests and I will observe that the business will go more regularly on.

If the terms are settled by you and the Fort delivered up, Captain Ashe with the pergunnahs should be put in possession of it, I would recommend to you to employ a number of people immediately to demolish it, and if you will write me that you could wish it to be done, I will send direction for the detachment to dismantle it.

Head-Quarters ;
Dinapore,
The 10th May 1771.

I am, &c.,
A. Champion.

To Colonel Alexr. Champion,
Commanding, 1st Brigade at Dinapore.

Sir,

We have been favored with your letter of the 10th instant. Whenever we write to Colonel Goddard we will send you a copy of our letter, that you may enforce with your authority our instructions.

It is not our intention for the present to destroy the Fort. When we are possessed of it as we believe it will be more for the interest of the Government to keep it probably garrisoned.

Patna,
The 11th May 1771.

We are, &c.,
Joseph Jekyll.
George Vansittart.
Robert Palk.

At a Consultation.

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble John Cartier, Esq.

PRESIDENT :

William Aldersey, | Charles Floyer, Esq.

To the Hon'ble John Cartier,

President and Governor, &c., Council of Fort William.

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

We have herewith the honor to enclose the inventories of sundries plundered in Burreriah Fort as given in by Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard to Colonel Champion who forwarded them to us.

We are, &c.,

Joseph Jekyll.

George Vansittart.

Robert Palk.

Patna.

The 25th May 1771.

Inventory of gold, silver, brass, copper, &c., found in Burreriah Fort, 19th May 1771:—

211 Gold mohurs	...	...	3,165
Rupees	...	...	7,906
Silver plates weighing	...	...	825.12
Old ditto	...	...	844
Old gold	...	...	817-8
54,875 pice.			
34 copper pots.			
17 brass pots.			
27 toothnaque.			
1 country matque.			
2 elephants teeth.			
225 pieces white cloth.			
85 do. silk.			
29 pieces chintz.			
9 do. gingham.			
2 small remnants of woollen cloth grain of different sorts left in charge of Captain Ashe. Quantity not ascertained.			

(Signed) Thos. Goddard, Lieut. Colonel.

Inventory of warlike stores, &c., found in Burreriah Fort, 19th May 1771:—

Country	{ Brass guns	...	...	3
	{ Iron do.	...	...	3
	Gingall	...	...	18
	Old English firelocks	...	...	4
	Matchlocks	...	...	265
	Old English pistols	...	...	1
	Common shot	...	...	237
	Beaten balls	...	...	10,500
	Iron pigs	...	...	73

	Lead small pieces	...	...	2
	Country swords	...	...	9
	Cutlass	...	...	2
	Pickaxes	...	...	6
Country	Powder	...	...	48
	Saltpetre	...	...	20
	Sulphur	...	pots ...	12

(Signed) Thos. Goddard, Lieut.-Colonel.

To the Hon'ble John Cartier,
President and Governor, &c., Council of Fort William.

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

We beg leave to enclose you copies of Mr. Bateman's letter to Captain Carter of the 8th May, and Captain Carter's letter to Mr. Bateman of the 11th May. We apprehend, Gentlemen, that the directions which Captain Carter mentions to have received from the Governor were in consequence of their being no Supervisor at the time on the spot, and as Mr. Bateman has now entered upon his charge, and Curuckpore is one of the pergunnahs belonging to it, we request if you do not deem it improper that orders may be sent Captain Carter to act under his directions in any business he may have with the zemindars in that pergunnahs.

We also beg leave to enclose you copy of Mr. Bateman's letter to us of the 24th May, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Grant of same date, and Lieutenant-Colonel Grant's answer.

We request to be favored with your orders how far the supervisors or the Deroga of the Adawlut on the part of the Nazim have a right to interfere with Lieutenant-Colonel Grant's dependants the inhabitants of the Military Gunge or people to take protection there, in case they should at any time be guilty of oppression to the country people.

With respect to the perwannas you have already given directions that none should be issued by the Commanding Officers, we have written to Lieutenant-Colonel Grant on the subject requesting he will apply to the Chief or the Supervisor for any perwannahs he may have occasion for.

We are,

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

Your most obedient humble servants.

Joseph Jekyll.

George Vansittart.

Robert Palk.

Patna,
The 28th May 1771.

The Board are sensible of the justness and propriety of Mr. Jekyll's representation, but cannot deviate from the positive orders received from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors.

The Board are of opinion that the warlike stores found at Burreerah Fort should be detained for the use of the Hon'ble Co. and orders have already been sent regarding the effects.

As some elucidation seems necessary for the explanation of the first paragraph of the last letter, and Mr. Bateman's letter to Captain Carter with that gentleman's reply. The President delivers in the following Minute :—

The Herboa country is situated betwixt Boglepour, Rajah Maul and the northern parts of Bheerbhoom. Captain Carter who was employed on a Survey of the Western parts of the Bengal and Bahar Provinces informed me early in February last, that on entering the above district he with his escort had been attacked by its Rajah without any provocation. That this Rajah asserted an independency, had had for some years paid no revenue to Government and desired my orders how he was further to proceed. As Captain Carter's party was too weak for him to continue his business, when there was such likelihood of meeting with opposition—I ordered a Company of Sepoys from the Burdwan Battalion to reinforce him and gave him directions to enter again the Herboa country and prosecute his survey—but not to attempt it should he find the force he had unequal to the undertaking, but to wait the arrival of Major Auchmutty who was then on his march with a considerable detachment to Mongheer. I likewise gave him orders to endeavour to settle the country and to bring if possible the Rajah to terms, otherwise to seize his person and to send him to the city, and to advise me, and the Council thereof his proceedings. I was unacquainted to what department the Herboa district properly belonged, but as it now appears from the Council of Revenue letter from Patna that it is considered as a part of the Curruckpore district and included in Mr. Bateman's Supravisorship, I shall direct Captain Carter to obey all orders he may receive from that Council relative to the country. This place appearing to form a part of and being connected with the district of Curruckpore.

AGREED that the President be requested to write to Captain Carter to put himself under the orders of the Council of Revenue at Patna.

The Board are of opinion that on complaints being preferred to the Supravisor on the Military Gunge, the Supravisor should represent the affair to the Commanding Officer at Monghyr, and if redress is not obtained the whole should be referred to us through the Channel of the Revenue Council at Patna.

AGREED we write to Lieutenant-Colonel Grant directing him to pay a proper attention to the representations of our Supravisor remarking the notion of independent authority he seems to exhibit in the correspondence now before us.

RESOLVED we do reply to the foregoing letters in the following manner :—

To Mr. Joseph Jekyll,

Chief, &c., Council of Revenue at Patna.

Gentlemen,

We have received your letters of the 14th, 25th and 28th ultimo with the several inclosures. In reply to Mr. Jekyll's application to us for an increase of allowance

you will acquaint him, that we are sensible of the justness and propriety of his representation, but that the orders from the Hon'ble Court of Directors are so explicit and positive on this head as not to leave it in our power to afford him relief: that he must wait their resolutions in answer to our last letter wherein we strongly recommended their taking into consideration the necessity of granting a larger allowance to the servants of the several factories and supravisorships.

Directions have been already transmitted you relative to the effects found in the Fort of Burreriah. The warlike stores are to be detained for the use of the Honorable Co.

As the Herboa country from representation appears to be connected with and forms a part of the district of Currackpou in the Bahar Province, we have requested our President to write to Captain Carter directly to put himself under your orders.

Relative to the complaints from Mr. Bateman we have wrote to Colonel Grant enjoining him to restrain all licentiousness of behaviour in the military dependency, and to pay a proper attention to the representations which may from time to time be made by our supravisor and to redress the complaints against any dependants in the Military Gunge. You will therefore direct the Supravisor in case of any such complaints being laid before him to represent them to the Commander of the Brigade, and, if he deems them to be not satisfactorily redressed, he is to refer it to your Board to be transmitted through that chanel to us for our ultimate decision.

Fort William,
The 10th June 1771.

We are, &c.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh Grant,
Commanding at Monghyr.

Sir,

From the Council of Revenue at Patna we have received copy of a correspondence between you and Mr. Bateman transmitted them by that gentleman.

We have directed that in case of complaints being offered against the dependants on the Military Department at Monghyr the Supravisor is to represent the same to you, and we expect that you pay a proper attention to such representations and grant redress to the injured.

We cannot help remarking in the course of our correspondence with Mr. Bateman that the words "he nor any other person under my command shall ever be tried at your or any other catcherry"—are very improper and seem too much to argue a notion of independant authority.

Fort William,
The 10th June 1771.

We are, &c.,
Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants.

At a Consultation.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble John Cartier.—PRESIDENT:

Thomas Kelsall.

Charles Floyer.

John Reed, Esq.

Read the following letter from the Council of Revenue at Patna:—

To the Hon'ble John Cartier,

President and Governor, &c., Council at Fort William.

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

We have been favored with your commands of the 29th ultimo and 10th instant, and are much concerned that our attack on Burraria Fort, should not have met with your approbation. Far from imagining we were depriving the zemindar of his natural rights, we apprehended that his holding such a Fort independent of the Government might itself be deemed an act of rebellion, and we supposed ourselves to be invested with a general authority to call disobedient zemindars to an account, and did not know that you expected we should trouble you with a reference in every particular instance.

The laws of the country Government are clear (we believe that no zemindar should hold a Fort without the consent of the Nazim.) The inconvenience of their doing it was experienced in the war with Sujah-Dowla, and after the conclusion of the peace, when our troops were no longer required for more urgent service, Lord Clive gave general orders for the reduction of them, and many have in consequence been reduced within these few years.

The effects shall be restored to the proprietors and the stores detained for the Company agreeable to your orders.

The Chief will make Captain Carnac acquainted with your sentiments relative to his omission of sending the customary returns to the Governor and General Barker and direct him to make suitable apologies.

We will direct Mr. Bateman to observe the mode you have pointed out in case of any complaints being preferred to him against the dependants of the Military Gunge.

Patna,

The 22nd June 1771.

We are, &c.

Joseph Lekyll.

George Vansittart,

Robert Palk.

In Vol. XIII of *Bengal: Past & Present*, Mr. S. C. Sanial gave a number of papers connected with charges brought against Nanda Kumar in 1764. It is

rather remarkable that when in 1772, Warren Hastings sanctioned the appointment of Nanda Kumar's son, Guru Das ("Rajah Gurdas") to the post of Diwan to the Nawab Nazim, he drew a distinction between "a violation of a *trust* and an offence committed against our Government by a man that owed it no allegiance nor was indebted to it for protection." He pointed out that "the artifices" in which Nanda Kumar had been detected had been in the interest of his employer (Mir Jafar), and might "be as fairly ascribed to the one as the other." On the view that Nanda Kumar was a subject of the Nawab, little complaint could arise from the fact that he served what he conceived to be the interests of the Nawab rather than the interests of the Company. This line of justification meets with a somewhat formidable objection in the fact that in 1764, Nanda Kumar made the following petition for a "trial agreeably to the laws of England :—

To the Hon'ble Henry Vansittart, Esq., and Council.

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

The distress I suffer in my person and state during a close confinement since month of August past, induces me to apply to your Hon'ble Board for a further consideration of my case in all its circumstances, willing to submit myself, if found guilty, to whatever punishment your laws may prescribe.

The means which have been used by my enemies to effect my ruin, and the evidences they have produced against me, if set in their proper light by a person acquainted with your language and the evidences confronted with me, which they never have been, agreeably to the custom of all trials, I flatter myself the proofs would come far short of what they have appeared to your Honors for want of these helps, and would not merit the punishment which is now inflicted upon me.

The ignominious and painful situation I am in at present makes me wish for any end to these miseries, and that I may be brought upon my trial agreeably to the laws of England.

Should your Honors not think proper to grant my request of being tried by the laws of England in a public manner, as your Honors have been pleased to think that I am not to be trusted with my liberty in this country, may I yet beg it may be indulged me to retire with my family in safety to some other.

Fort William,
The 17th March 1763. }

I am, with greatest respect,
Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,
Your most obedient & humble servant,

(Sd) Nundecomar Roy.

L. S.

The *Calendar of Records of the Select Committee at Fort William*, published by the Bengal Secretariat Press in 1915 bring to light another little transaction in which Nanda Kumar was concerned. In November 1770, George Gustavus Ducarel the Supervisor of Purneah was informed by Raja Devi Sinha that a person called Namid Rai had come to him and professed to be the bearer of a letter from Shuja-ul-Daula, the Nawab of Oudh, the object of the letter being to induce Raja Devi Sinha to bring over the zamindars of his acquaintance to a league of the Marathas and the French against the English in Bengal. Of the nature of this conspiracy much has been learned from the original records quoted by Mr. Charu Chandra Ray in his article in our present number. Mr. Ducarel caused Namid Rai, Rahmat Khan ("a well known head barkara") and fourteen others to be arrested, and inside Namid Rai's *kalamdan* or pen-case, was found a number of Persian papers and three forged seals of the Nawab Shuja-ul-Daula. On the person of one of the other prisoners were found, (1) a letter addressed to Raja Devi Sinha under a forged seal, (2) a letter addressed to Nanda Kumar under the seal of Ghulab Singh, and (3) a letter to Muhammad Riza Khan bearing the seal of Dundi Khan Rohilla. The third letter amounts to little more than a recommendation of Ghulab Rai. The second letter asks Nanda Kumar to enrol Ghulab Rai as one of his own servants, and states that one Mahtab Ray will shortly be despatched and will communicate by word of mouth to Nanda Kumar "the purpose which the Vazir has at heart." In this letter the Nawab (Vazir) says that he is "unite to the noble English sardars in the strictest bonds of amity and friendship," and wishes to be kept acquainted with all that concerns their welfare. The first letter, addressed to Devi Sinha, bore a seal inscribed *Vazir-ul-Mamaleh Bahadur*, and it was conjectured that the letter was a forgery since the seal answered to one of those discovered in the *kalamdan*. The prisoners indeed confessed that they had themselves forged the letter. The contents of the letter, to put the matter as briefly as possible, were that the Vazir had 60,000 horsemen and sepoys, a train of artillery consisting of 200 pieces, and "two lakhs of horse" from the Deccan in readiness; the writer looked to Devi Sinha to enter into bonds with "two French gentlemen and the principal Rajas of Bengal," and he should at once repair to Benares; should he exert himself heartily in the business, all the *subahs* from Fyzabad to Purneah would be entrusted to his management.

Among the letters discovered was one directed to Nanda Kumar under the seal of Ghulab Ray. This letter deals with affairs at the Vazir's court, where it would appear that the writer was established as Nanda Kumar's

vakil. In order to maintain communications with the latter "for the known business," the Vazir had appointed two writers and *seventy considars* (running messengers). Lala Mahtab Ray, a relation of the writer's, had been commissioned "by the presence," and will shortly attend on Nanda Kumar. The words "a parwana is enclosed" were explained by the prisoners to be a mark agreed on between Nanda Kumar and Ghulab Singh as sign of authenticity.

On 7th November, the Select Committee write to the Council of Revenue at Murshidabad directing asking that the original letter from Shuja-ud-Daula to Nanda Kumar should be sent to them in order that the seals affixed thereto might be compared with those in the office of the Persian Translator. A letter from Captain Gabriel Harper, dated Fyzabad, 29th December, (No. 517 in the *Calendar*) states that "Gulab Ray is found to be the person engaged by the Nawab to place daks towards Calcutta. He was introduced by Prasad Ray, but is lately in disrepute, and the Captain thinks that the measures he has taken will remove him from the Nawab's household. A man named Bhondy, who has now gone eastwards, was principally employed by Ghulab Ray 'to place' the *harkaras*." Captain Harper in another letter of equal date, states that he had seen Ghulab Ray before he started for Benares, but since his return he has not seen him. Prasad Ray mentioned by the Captain, I take to be Raja Parsudh Ray, who had resided in Calcutta for nearly three years as the Vazir's Vakil, and who returned to Faizabad about 1st August 1769. It seems then that there can be no doubt that Ghulab Ray was engaged to lay down daks between Faizabad and Calcutta, and one can scarcely question that the purposes for which these communications were sought were of a political nature. Was Nanda Kumar at the head of one end of the line of communications? Perhaps some day we may be able to answer the question, but, for the present, it is at least curious that the name Mahtab Ray appears as one of the witnesses on the pearl bond which cost Nanda Kumar his life?

In regard to the death of the ex-Nawab Mir Kasim Khan, reference may be made to Vol. VIII of *Bengal: Past & Present*, page 159, where will be found an extract from a letter of Major Polier to Colonel Iroonside. The Major writes "Cossim Ally Khan is at last dead and buried. His demise was at Delhi on the 29th of the moon Rabyal Sany, that is, on the 6th June 1777. It is said that he died in great misery, and that his last shawl was sold to pay for his winding sheet."

In regard to the matter of Nanda Kumar's connections with other persons' seals the following extract from the Press List of Ancient Documents preserved at the Bengal Secretariat Record Room is at least suggestive. Vol. III, page 611, 28th April 1773 :—

Copy of the deposition on oath, of Hinga, the Company's seal cutter, stating that Yar Muhammad had come to him, under the orders of Maharaja Nanda Kumar, and requested him to cut two seals in the names of Muhammad Aushie and Muhammad Culleem, but he declined to do anything without the orders of the Governor or of Mr. Herbert Harris, the Mint Master, who was his immediate superior.

Another suspicious case is that of Zain-ul-Abidin Khan. According to the same Press List (page 616), Bund 'Ali Khan in a letter states "that he was making search in consequence of the intelligence given by Najaf Khan concerning Zain-ul-Abidin having engraved seals, when he met with a seal of His Excellency [Muhammad Riza Khan?], which he has kept in his possession, and stating that it is apparent that Zain-ul-Abidin Khan has other seals in his possession." It seems (I regret I cannot at present write more positively) that at this time Zain-ul-Abidin had been brought down to Calcutta in connection with the enquiry into Muhammad Riza Khan's administration, and it is certain that he was in confinement at the time. The evidence given by the prisoner's servant is that Bund 'Ali Khan stated that "the Nawab knew nothing of the seal, and that it was prepared by Mirza Maseeta." Now in May 1775, after Nanda Kumar had brought charges of gross corruption against Warren Hastings, and the majority on the Council Board had shown that they were anxious to obtain evidence against the Governor-General, Zain-ul-Abidin put in a petition which is summarised as follows in the Press List (Vol. IV, page 79) :—

That the office of Fouzdar of Hooghly may be conferred on him, on a salary of Rs. 32,000 per year, in the place of Khan Jahan Khan, the present Fouzdar, who is allowed Rs. 72,000, and pays a part of the amount to the Governor-General and his banian, and practices extortion on the people.

It is well-known that Hastings (30th March) declined to allow Zain-ul-Abidin to be examined in his presence, and that the majority on the day following (31st March) met (in the Revenue Department) in the absence of the Governor-General and Barwell, and dismissed Khan Jahan Khan from his appointment, placing in his room one Mirza Effendi, a servant of Nanda Kumar's who in that employ had received Rs. 30 per mensem, at a salary of

Rs. 3000, per mensem. "This," writes Barwell, "was in fact, making Nuncomar Phousdar of Hooghly, while it was ostensibly in the name of Mirza Munde." It was indeed far more, for the dismissal of Khan Jahan Khan was tantamount to an acceptance of the charge brought against the Governor-General. We are led to ask for some further information about Zain-ul-'Abidin and his relations with Nanda Kumar.

Mir Zain-ul-'Abidin Khan, as far as my researches have enabled me to trace his part, was a man of considerable rank. In the days when Mir Kasim was Nawab and a friend of Governor Vansittart's, the Mir was, I think, a Vakil of the Company's, but, after the terrible time of 1763 and the subsequent flight of the dethroned Nawab, Mir Zain sought the protection of the Nawab of Oudh. In Vol. I, (page 340) of the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* (Imperial Records Department) there is summarised a remarkable letter in which Zainu acknowledges, on 22nd September 1764, a letter from Major Munro, (through Asad Khan) in which he, Zain, is invited to join the English and to bring over with him "as many able and well-mounted Moghuls, Turanis, &c., as possible". The writer acknowledges that while "it is dishonorable for all men, particularly for men of family, to desert the service they are engaged in; and go over to their master's enemies, yet there are several reasons which justify such conduct in the Moghuls." The first of these reasons is that "the Wazir, notwithstanding his oath upon the Quran, murdered the Nawab Quli Khan, who was the glory of the Moghals, and who to the writer was dearer than a father or a brother." The second reason betrays a somewhat sinister humour on the part of the writer—it is that the *ex*-Nawab Mir Kasim—a man whose hands were stained with the blood of English prisoners-of-war,—had been treated by the Wazir in an unworthy fashion. It is clear from the correspondence that Zain was, at least in his opinion, the spokesman of the Moghals, and that he was then in high hope that the territory between the Ganges and the Jumna might be made over to his people rent-free. His office with the Nawab of Oudh was that of "Principal Officer of the Diwan." Let us note (*Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, No. 2094) a letter from Zain to Mir Bonyad 'Ali, 10th March 1764—perhaps the Bund 'Ali Khan referred to above.

The next I hear of Mir Zain-ul-'Abidin Khan is in 1766 when he was employed by Lord Clive in an embassy to the Darbar of the Mahrata Raja Januji. On the 28th December of that year he was within 14 kos of Nagpur, having on the way been seized and detained by four different rajas.

Some account of this embassy will be found in No. 221 of Vol. II of the *Calendar of the Persian Correspondence*. A letter (No. 264) from Muhammad Riza Khan reports the arrival of Mir Zain at Benares on 15th March, and his intention to start for Murshidabad on the 21st. On 17th April the Mir reached Murshidabad. In August [No. 520] he writes as Faujdar of Hijili, and a letter of Raja Januji [No. 709] speaks of the Mir as engaged in an intrigue for the Subadari of Orissa. At the close of the year Zainu was at Murshidabad explaining his conduct to Muhammad Riza Khan [No. 716]. In 1768 the correspondence has scarcely any more to tell us about in regard to Zain than affairs connected with the salt trade and the pargana of Jalamuki.

I now turn from the Persian Correspondence to the English Records of the Bengal Secretariat. On 29th June 1770, the Resident at Murshidabad Darbar writes to William Harwood, Supervisor of Bhagalpur and Rajmehal to the effect that Zain-ul-Abidin Khan has been appointed Fouzdar of Bhagalpur, and Raja Madan Lal Fouzdar of Rajmehal. In the following December these officers were re-called in company with many others from their several districts.

It must be confessed that one cannot feel altogether certain that there may not have been two or even more Zain-ul-Abidin Khans. The author of the *Seir Mutaqherin* has something to tell us of a gallant soldier, Zin-el-Abedin-Qhan, who had served under Mahmed-Quli-Qhan and Abul-Mansur-Qhan. On page 324, Vol. II (Cambray's Reprint) he tells us that this officer became "Vezir to Shah-Aalum," and lost his life in the assaults of Azim-abad [Patna, September 1762. See Broome, page 298]. Later on the writer [Vol. II, page 51] describes how Zin-el-Abeden Qhan was struck in the leg by a musket-ball, which shattered the bone into shivers, and how in this painful state he was lowered down the wall by his men. It is possible that the earlier statement that Zain lost his life at the assault of Patna is incorrect.*

*In June 1774 the Provincial Council at Patna took into consideration a petition from Lugl-ul-Nissa Begum in behalf of herself and the children of the deceased daughter of Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula praying for the continuance of the pension of Rs. 600 per mensem which had formerly received from Dacca, and for the restoration of the villages given rent-free as a burial place of the Nawab Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan of Patna. *Bengal Record Room Papers List*, Vol. III, pages 461-62. This Zain was, I suppose, the father of Siraj-ud-Daula. See *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. VIII, page 218.

It will be worth while in a later number to bring together here some information about Khan Jahan Khan, the Faujdar of Hughli. For the present, I place on record a list of the Hughli Fauzdars from 1760 to 1775:—

Sulaiman Beg Khan	...	1760-63.
Sayyid Badal Khan	...	1763-64.
Mirza Muhammad-Kazim Khan		1765-67.
Muhammad'Ali Khan	...	1767 July to June 1769.
Aga Razin'd-Din Muhammad Khan	Formerly 'Amil at Purnea, 1769.	
Muhammad'Ali Khan	...	1770 (Dec). Removed 16th February 1773 on account of his relationship with Muhammad Riza Khan then under-trial.

Khan Jahan Khan, appointed 7th May 1773.
Mirza Mehendi ... 1775 (May)

As to the second faujdar on the list, I draw the following passage from a letter from Governor Vansittart to the Nawab from Long's *Selections*, page 352.

"As Syed Budnal Cawan is a good man, and all these disturbances have happened since the arrival of Lahoorimul, it appears that he who is of Nuncomar's orders in appointment is acting agreeably to Nuncomar's orders in oppressing several merchants who have fallen under his displeasure. As numbers of the merchants of this country are great sufferers by these disturbances, and the rest depend upon your favour and protection, and it is necessary you should support them, you must therefore secure them from the displeasure of such kind of men. You have now shewn some little favor to Nuncomar and he has already begun such oppressions on the people, if your favour to him increases, his oppressions will also increase, and the people will be trampled under foot."

Of the witnesses at the trial of Nanda Kumar for forgery one of the most important was a person named Kamal-ud-Din—a name generally written by the English of the time (and by Sir J. F. Stephen) Commaul-O-Deen. On the translation of the famous Persian bond the name of Abdehoo Commaul Mahomed appears as the second of the three witnesses to the bond. The case for the defence was that all three witnesses were in fact dead: the case for the prosecution admitted the death of the third witness Seilanbaut, denied that Mahtāb Rōi, the first, ever existed, and produced Kamāl-ud-Din, who claimed having witnessed the deed, but stated that he had on a certain

occasion in 1763 allowed Nanda Kumar to have possession of his seal, and that the latter had never returned it. Kamal-ud-Din also asserted that his name had been formerly Muhamed Kamal. It was thus Kamal's contention that the seal on the jewel bond was indeed his seal, and that Nanda Kumar had used it without his consent or knowledge. And he denied that the words "It is witnessed" appearing over the impress of his seal were in his handwriting. He moreover, according to the report, "produced a paper sealed with the same seal to prove he had the seal," and the jury were impressed by observing that both impressions exhibited a evidence of a small flaw in the seal. Mr. Beveridge, in his reply to Sir F. J. Stephen, says that the jury must have had very good eyes indeed to detect the existence of a flaw, and he tells us that he had examined other specimens of Kamal's "alleged" seal, and that they betray no token of a flaw.

Mr. Beveridge refers to a petition dated 20th April 1775, the Persian original of which was studied by him at the Record Room of the High Court. The seal on this document, he tells us, has in addition to the name Kamal-ud-din Ali Khan, the Persian date 1178, i.e., 5th July 1764 to 23rd June 1765. Kamal stated that he received the title of Khan when the Emperor and Clive were at Patna, i.e., in 1761, but that, as the Nawab's confirmation was requisite, he did not make use of his new name until he was made Fauzdar of Hughli, about a fortnight before Muhammad Riza Khan became Naib Subahdar. A reference to the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* (Imperial Records Department, 1911), Vol. I, No. 2631, 28th April 1765, gives us from a letter of Muhammad Riza Khan the following: "as to Kamalu-d-din Khan, who has gone to Nund Kumar, and who has not paid a single *dam* from his revenues, it is to be hoped that, as requested, he has not been countenanced or protected in Calcutta." It will be remembered that in April 1765 Nand Kumar had arrived at Calcutta to stand on trial. It would thus appear that Kamal had assumed his new name in 1765, the date [1172 B.S.] borne either truthfully or untruthfully by the jewel bond. So Mr. Beveridge asks "is it likely that Nanda Kumar would use in August 1765 a seal which he knew had become obsolete?" To answer that question one would perhaps require to know more than we do at present about the habits of Indians in regard to their seals and their names.

According to the terms of the Jewel Bond, Balaqi Das Seth, had in the year 1758 received into safe custody at his house at Murshidabad certain jewels. In the year 1765 Nanda Kumar demanded the return of these jewels, but Balaqi Das, being unable either to restore his trust or make a money

payment, entered into a bond pledging himself to pay 48,021 sicca rupees to Nanda Kumar. Balaqi Das died in June 1769. It will not be necessary in this place to go into the matter of the terms of the will, or the question of the accounts connected with the estate of the deceased. The salient fact is that in the transactions between Nanda Kumar and the representatives of Balaqi Das' heirs, Nuncomar in exchange for Company Bonds made over the famous jewel bond. It was remarkable that in a power of Attorney granted to Pudemohun Dass and Mohun Persaud, Balaqi Das had stated his debt to Nanda Kumar at 10,000 rupees, and no more. Now if the bond was a forgery, it is clear that the forger would be anxious in 1769 to give to his artistic creation the appearance of its being at least four years old. If only Kamal could be relied upon to swear to his seal, the fact that the seal was an old one might seem to give to the Bond the appearance of a genuine transaction. Unfortunately for Nanda Kumar, Kamal in the event swore to his seal, but denied that it had been placed on the bond with his knowledge and consent. To meet the situation, the defence pleaded that the seal was that of another person and that that person was dead.

In dealing with the evidence in the Nanda Kumar forgery case, Mr. Beveridge attacks a statement made by Captain Carnac that Shuja-ud-Daula and Mir Kasim retreated to Benares on 3rd May 1764. He thinks Benares is probably a mistake for Buxar, and adds: "they did not retreat on 3rd May. After the cannonade on that day the two armies remained at Bankipur 'looking at one another,' as Captain Williams expresses it for some weeks, and when at the end of May, Shuja-ud-Daula and Mir Kasim removed westward, they at first only went to Maner. Later they retreated to Buxar, and there remained during the rains. Shuja-ud-Daula seems to have crossed into his own territories, but I believe Mir Quasim did not leave Bihar till after Buxar." It is curious to note that No. 2281 of Vol. I of the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* thus summarises a letter to Muhammad Riza Khan, at that time Naib of Dacca: "learns that Shuja-u'd-Daulah, being unable to stand his ground, has retreated with his whole army towards Benares. The English troops will pursue him and retaliate on his country all the mischief he has done in Behar." This letter is dated 6th June, and would therefore, allowing time for news from Patna to reach Calcutta, give the first impression made by the news of the event of 3rd May, which by the way was something far more considerable than a "cannonade." The account given of the battle before Patna on 3rd May by Broome, and of Carnac's subsequent conduct, affords a very melancholy view of Carnac's military abilities, yet it is to be remembered that Vansittart, whose words Mr. Beveridge quotes, was Carnac's

bitter enemy, and also that before Munro advanced on Buxar, Munro spent much toil in bringing over the Mughal leaders to English cause. Things were not so easy for Carnac as might appear.

We have already referred to Munro's negotiations with Zain-ul-Abidin Khan. The *Persian Calendar*, (Vol. I, No. 2424) shows that in September 1764 at the latest Munro had entered into correspondence with Shah Mal, the Kiladar of Rhotas. In the letter against which the date 22nd September is set, the Kiladar says "he has been plainly told that the people of Rhotas will by no means submit to the Wazir, whose behaviour to the Nawab 'Ali Jah (Mir Kasim) has not been such as to make them believe that it will be their interest to do so," and that as the people of the Fort "are now the Company's servants," assistance in money should be sent to them. Another letter of the same date shows that Shah Mal was expecting the arrival of Mir Asad 'Ali with communications from the Major, and he appeals for supplies of food, as the Fort is lately to be surrounded by the enemy, and refers to Mir Asad 'Ali and Dr. Fullarton. It is curious to note that in the *Persian Correspondence* there is not a single word about the Fort of Rhotas being captured by Captain Goddard as related by the author of the *Seir Muta-herin*. (See Broome, page 463), but it would appear simply that the Fort was made over by Shah Mal, who in return received an ample reward. Sir J. F. Stephen in his *Nuncomar and Impey*, (Vol. I, page 134) had said that at the forgery trial it was proved "that Mir Cossim retreated from Behar for the last time in May 1764, that Rhotas was taken from him apparently earlier in the year, though the date is not given, that the battle of Buxar was fought, 23rd October 1764." Mr. Beveridge, who, in his anxiety to score off Sir James, will not let this pass, betrays a desire to fall in with those authorities who have held that Rhotas did not surrender till after the battle of Buxar, and this, although Mr. Beveridge had before him the announcement made by the Governor to the Board at Fort William that a letter dated 2nd October had been received from Munro reporting the surrender of Rhotas to Captains Goddard and Stables.

Now as to Mir Kasim. According to the account given by Broome he disgraced himself by his lethargy in the battle of 3rd May 1764, and probably earned the Wazirs' contempt. On 27th August news arrived from the Wazirs' camp that Mir Kasim "who had designed to go to Rhotas, has been imprisoned together with Sumroo. Their effects have been seized and their troops dispersed." (*Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, No. 2395A.) On 7th September (*ibid*, No. 2407) the Wazir informs the Council at

Calcutta that "His Majesty has inflicted due punishment on Mir Qasim." The fact is that both the Emperor and the Wazir were at this time proposing to effect terms of peace with the English.

At the trial of Nanda Kumar for forgery a witness appeared whose name Sir J. F. Stephen give as "Ussud Ali," but who was none other than the Mir Assad-'Ali we have already met with. The Mir produced a receipt which he stated to have been given him by Bulaqi Das, and this receipt was sealed with a seal corresponding with that which purported to be the seal of Bulaqi Dass on the famous jewel bond. His story was that he had been sent by the *ex*-Nawab Mir Kasim, to carry treasure from Rhotas, and that he, by Mir Kasim's orders, delivered the treasure to Bulaqi at a place called Dnorgotty. Sir J. F. Stephen writes: "the receipt was dated 28th Assun, 1164, which corresponds to 8th October 1764," (Vol. I, page 134). Mr. Beveridge saw the receipt in the Record Room of the High Court, and he writes that it bears on the top the *ex*-Nawab's name, that it is for the sum of Rs. 1,90,000, and that it is dated 14th Rabi-us-Sani 1178 equal to 8th October 1764. As Mir Assad was a witness for the defence, Mr. Beveridge has to justify the evidence given by him, and this probably explains Mr. Beveridge's anxiety to find the latest possible date for the surrender of Rhotas. Mir Asad, as we have seen, in September, or even in August, in the service of the English. It is, of course, possible that the Kiladar of Rhotas, who had a great regard for Mir-Kasim, allowed Mir Asad to carry away from the Fort even after its surrender, the *ex*-Nawab's treasure, but such a theory is both fanciful, and in conflict with the rest of the evidence. Mr. Beveridge's whole position seems to turn on the idea that Mir Kasim was "in possession of Rohtas till the end of September," (page 265), and that therefore there is no difficulty "in believing that Mir Kasim may have given orders shortly before the battle of Buxar for money to be brought from Rohtas." (Page 263). It would seem that both Mir Kasim and Bulaqi Das were under confinement, and as to the alleged delivery of the treasury at Durgahatty, Mr. Beveridge has to resort to the suggestion that Mir Asad's memory may have been at fault, although the name of the place is given in the pretended receipt! Probability favours the statement of a witness at the jewel bond trial that if the treasure stated to have been brought from Rohtas to Bulaqi Das had indeed been brought down by Mir Assad and a company of soldiers they would have been seized by the Wazir's officer. In fact the receipt produced was, as Sir James F. Stephen puts it, "such an instrument as would be required, for the purpose of forgery."

Mr. Beveridge was at pains to show that Mir Asad Ali "was no myth but a real person who was at Rohtas in August or September, 1764." (Page 261), but in a footnote on the following pages he desires to distinguish between two persons—(1) Asad Khan Bahadur, in the service of the Wazir, and (2) the Mir Asad, who appeared as a witness in the Nanda Kumar forgery case. I do not believe that this distinction can be maintained. It appears to me that we have only one gentleman of the same name to deal with, and that he was in fact a brother of Zain-ul-Abidin Khan, and perhaps brother of Muhammad Reza Khan, Naib of Murshidabad.

CORRECTIONS.

- Vol. III, page 174, 4th line from bottom for "Miss" *read* "Mrs."
- " " 3rd ditto for "Templer" *read* "Smith."
- Vol. IV, page 486, Note 2, 5th line for "1754" *read* "1759."
- " " 487, 1st line of Notes delete "district"
- " " 488, 8th from bottom for "1751" *read* "1757."
- " " 488, 3rd ditto for "1750" *read* "
- " " 489, Note 28, delete all words from "a son of" to
"Earl of Liverpool."
- " " 492, 3rd from top, for "Stibbert" *read* "Stibbart."
- " " 493, 12th " for "Boulet" *read* "Boutet."
- " " 499, 14th from bottom for "previous" *read* "father."
- " " 499, 7th " for "1776" *read* "1771."
- " " 500, 2nd " of text for "Coates" *read* "Cotes."
- " " 502, 12th from top, for "Marlow" *read* "Martin."
- " " 508, 2nd " for "Keble" *read* "Keable."
- " " 509, 3rd " for "Lizarda" *read* "Lezarder."
- " " 511, 7th " for "Rouch" *read* "Rauch."
- Vol. VIII, page 166, 12th from top, for "Lherondell" *read* "Lherondell."
- " " 167, 7th from bottom of text, for "Surgen" *read*
"Surgeon."
- " " 168, 4th from top, add "and Miss Charlotte Briscoe."
- " " 169, 8th " for "Rotten" *read* "Rotten."
- " " 170, 13th from bottom of text, for "Messirck" *read*
"Messink."
- " " 170, 8th ditto, for "Kaulie" *read*
"Raulie."
- Vol. XIV, page 61, bottom line for "1776" *read* "1771."
- " " 63, 7th line from bottom "1777" *read* "1774."
- " " 65, 12th line from top, for "Helmes" *read* "Holmes."
- " " 69, 19th " for "Pelleazin" *read* "Pellegrin."
- " " 299, 8th line from bottom, for "Wolley" *read* "Wolsey."
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The Dutch Cemetery at Chinsurah.

THE following is a list of nearly all the inscriptions on the graves in the Dutch portion of the Chinsurah burial-ground. I was unable from want of time to copy about half a dozen inscriptions on the graves of private soldiers or members of their families, and a few inscriptions which have become so defaced as to be illegible. Circumstances render work of this kind in the hot weather not very easy. It is difficult to be quite accurate when one is writing beneath a blazing sun, the perspiration from one's forehead dropping down on the paper and soaking it. The Chinsurah burial-ground is a play-ground for a tribe of Humayun apes, and one cannot be quite certain of what surprise may be preparing while intent on copying a difficult inscription. I must apologise if I have been guilty of errors. The burial register shows that a very large number of persons have been buried in this cemetery whose graves have disappeared.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

1. Edward A. COCKER / Son / of P. and A. Cocker / Died 11th Sept. / 1836 / Aged 8½ months.

2. Sacred / to the memory of / John BAYLEY / died 14th February 1857 / Aged 57 years.

3. Sacred / to the / memory / of / William HIGGS Esquire / of / Chandernagar.

4. Sacred to the memory of / George Ward BEAN, / the beloved child of / Mr. and Mrs. George Bean, / Died 27 August / 1852, / Aged 5 years 10 months and 25 days: / "The Lord gave and / the Lord hath taken away, blessed / be the Name of the Lord."

5. H. I. / Edward Harver's Seawen BIRCH, / Son of Richard Comyns Birch / and Frances Jane his wife, / Obiet (*sic*) 5th March 1800. / *l'Étate* 3 An. 2 Mens.

6. Sacred / to the memory / of / Brevet Captain BROWN, / H. M. 31st Foot: / Obit the 14th day of July 1846, / Aged 49 years. / This Tomb is erected by / his Brother Officers.

7. Sacred / to the memory / of / Margaret Parker, / Daughter of / Rev. H. PARKER of Calcutta, / Born Dec. 13th 1846. / Died February 3th 1847.

8. To the memory / of / Susannah Augusta, / Daughter of Major and Mrs. SQUIRE, H. M. 13 Light Infantry, / who died August 24th 1829. / Age 11 months and 20 days.

9. To the / memory / of / S. S. SHERMAN Esq. / Aged 24 years / and / 7 months.

10. To the / memory / of / B. G. SHERMAN Esq. / died 9th December 1833 / Aged 21 years 7 months / and 9 days.

11. In / memory / of / E. M. SHERMAN Esq. / died on the 3rd October 1833 / Aged 28 years and 4 months.

12. To / the memory / of Edward Hardwick, / the beloved son of / Colonel G. D'AGUILAR, / who departed this life July 16th, 1834 / Aged 2 years and 7 months.

13. Sacred / to the memory of / Thomas Bowerbank, / the beloved child of / Weeden Thomas and / Sophia Olympia DAWES, / died 10th August, 1841. / Aged 11 months and 24 days.

14. Sacred / to the memory / of / Lieutenant Colonel Charles CAMERON, / Major in His Majesty's 3rd Regiment of Foot or Buffs. / A brave and distinguished officer. / Died on the 13 May, 1827, / Aged 48 years. / This Tablet is erected / by / his Brother Officers / as a mark of their esteem.

15. Sacred / to the memory of / Algernon Lynar, / only son of Major Lynar FAWCETT. / H. M. 55th Regiment, / and Anne Frances, his wife, / who died 6th November 1840 / Aged 5 months.

16. Erected / by / the Officers / of H. M. 9th Regiment / in memory / of / Lieut. W. FRENCH / who died / 20th November 1858 / Aged 30 years.

17. Sacred / to the memory of / Ensign Watten Fench LITTLE / of H. M. 96th Regiment / who died at Chinsurah / on the 20th December 1849, / Aged 20 years. / Universally regretted by his / Brother Officers / who have / erected this Tablet to his memory.

18. ROSS JENNINGS / died / on the 28th August 1822 / aged 86.

19. Sacred / to the memory of / Elizabeth. / The Wife of Revd. Robt. MAY, / who died Sept. 17th, 1813 / Aged 25 years / Jesus is precious to them / who believe.

20. In memory / of / Lieut. J. SPRING. / Hs. Mts. 9th Foot. / Died 21 April 1836 / Aged 26 years, / this Tomb is erected / by his Brother Officers.

21. Sacred / to the memory / of / Lieut. G. G. LONSDALE / Hs. Mts. 3rd Regiment on the Buffs, / who died on the 6th June 1835 / on his passage down the River, / and was buried at Chinsurah / on the 8th June, 1835.

22. To the memory of / Lieutenant and Adjutant FAUNCE / of the 21st Royal Scotch Fusiliers, who died at Chinsurah / on the 8th March 1840. Aged 32 years, / This Monument is erected / by his Brother Officers / as a mark of esteem and respect.

23. Sacred to the memory of / Mrs. Elizabeth CONROY, / who departed this life the 16th of July, / A. D. 1831 / Aged 27 years.

24. In memory / of / Gustavus William Robert, / Infant son of / Robert and Mary / F. S. Thwaytes / who / departed this life / on the 3rd of August, 1850 / Aged / 4 years 10 months and 17 days.

25. In memory of / Lieut. Alexander COOKE, H. M. 9th Regiment of Foot, / who died at Chinsurah / on the 20th of March 1858 / Aged 25 years.

26. Sacred to the memory of / The Revd. Andrew BELCHER, A. B. of Trinity College, Cambridge. / One of the Chaplains in the Service of / the Honourable East India Company. He / died at Chinsurah, after a few days illness / November 20th 1829, Aged twenty-five years / at the moment when he was about to enter / on the duties of that Sacred Office in which / his character and attainments seemed to / promise a more than ordinary measure / of success and blessing. / The righteous is taken away from the evil to come.

27. Sacred / to the memory of / Revd. A. M. SIMKINS A. M. / Company's Chaplain at this Station / who died 3rd May, 1825, Aged 59 years.

28. Sacred / to the memory of / Murvin GANTLYE Esqr. / Vety. Surgeon / 11th Lt. Dns. Died....., 6th June, 1809, Aged..... years.

29. Sacred / to the memory / of / Lydia FULTON, / wife of Lieut. Col. Fulton, / who departed this life on the 3rd September 1843 / Aged 63 years. / She was the Grand-daughter of the late / Charles Weston Esqr. of Blessed Memory /. Thanks be to God which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. / As in Adam all die even so in / Christ shall all be made alive.

30. Sacred to the memory / of Lt. Charles JOHNSTONE / of H. M. 46th Regiment / who died on Sunday / the 17th September, 1826 / Aged 24 years.

31. Sacred / to the memory / of / the late Samuel GROSSE, / an Apothecary of the H. C. Service / who departed this life / on the 27th December, 1831 / Aged 32 years 5 months / and 13 days.

32. Sacred / to the memory / of / Captain Robert John Andrian WALTON / of Hs. Ms. 16th Regiment of Foot / in which Corps he had served for upwards / of 25 years / and who departed this life on Tuesday / the 10th of December 1831, / deeply and universally lamented / by his Brother Officers / Aged 41 years.

33. Sacred / to the memory of / Charlotte Adelaide. / The wife of Lieut. J. W. P. ANDAIN / H. M. 16th Infantry / who departed this life / at Chinsurah. / On the 29th day of August, 1833. / Aged 17 years and 10 months. / We mourn not as those without hope.

34. Sacred to the memory of / Benjamin SAUNDERS Esqr. / Obit October A. D. 1818. / Aged 55 years.

35. The / beloved children of / Mr. and Mrs. F. P. BARBER / Richard Saunders / Aetat. 4 months 14 days. / Obit 22nd March, 1812. / Maria

Caroline / *Ætat* 7 years 8 months 7 days. / Obit. 13 April, 1842. / Julia Ottilia Evelina. / *Ætat*. 5 years 7 months 10 days. / Obit. 5th September, 1844 / Of such is the Kingdom of God.

36. Beneath this tomb is deposited / the mortal remains of / Mrs. Ann BOLST. / who departed / this life / on the 18th April 1822 / Aged 36 years 3 months and 16 days.

37. To the memory of / Maria Caroline, the beloved wife of / Lieutenant T. W. MERCER, / 16th Regiment, B. N. 1. / She was born 7th November, 1826, / married 7th November, 1844 / died (at Lucknow) 7 November, 1845, / "for our light affliction, which is / but for a moment, worketh for us a / far more exceeding and eternal / weight of glory."

38. Sacred / to the memory of / Sergeant James HIGGINBOTHAM, Hs. Ms. 33rd Regiment. / Died 28th July, 1858. / Aged 33 years.

39. In memory / of / Edward Guard / the beloved son of / Richard and Rebecca CHAMBERS. / Born 24th November 1853 / Died 3rd October 1854.

40. Sacred / to the memory of / Mrs. Charlotte THOMAS / Aged 24 years and 9 months and 9 days. / She was a faithful and loving wife / and a truly kind and sympathising friend. / Also her sister / Miss Harriet PALL / Aged 16 years, 1 month and 17 days. / They were both cruelly murdered / by the Santhales / on the 10th July 1855. / This Tomb has been erected / by the afflicted husband and brother-in-law / as a token of his affection and esteem / The Lord gave, and the Lord / hath taken away, / Blessed be the name of the Lord.

41. Sacred / to the memory of / Maria WYMER, Wife of / Captain G. P. Wymer 61st Regiment / who departed this life at Chinsurah / on the 14th of March, 1824.

[Court of Arms: In 2 quarters the Arms of the order of St. John of Jerusalem.]

42. Sacred / to the memory / of / Mrs. Catherine PENGELLEY. / The wife of W. Pengelley Pc. / who departed this life on the 13th August / 1848 / Aged 50 years.

Thee, only Thee, I vain would find,
And cast the world and flesh behind.

An helpless soul I come to Thee
With only sin and misery.

43. Sacred / to the / memory of / Clara Annie, / daughter of / William Henry, / Jane RYLAND. / Born / 28th October 1859. / Died / 14th June, 1861. "Of such is / the kingdom / of Heaven."

44. In memory of / Anne RYLAND. / Relict of / William Ryland. / Born 11th December, 1801. / Died 5th January, 1869. / "Thou wilt keep him / in perfect peace whose / mind is stayed on thee." / Isaiah XXVI. 13.

45. Erected / to the memory of / Miss EBERT. / Died / 10th September / 1878.

46. In memory of / Emma DRAPER / who departed this life on the 22nd of November, 1887. / Aged 68 years.

47. Clara Frances, daughter of / Wand BRENNAND. / Died May 4th, 1852. / Aged 17 months.

48. Sacred / to the memory of / Capt. C. KIERNANDER. / 15th Regiment N. I. / Died 3rd July 1834. / Aged 47 years.

49. Sacred / to the memory of / Ada Gordon, / the beloved wife of / George Louis MARTIN / of the Bengal Civil Service, / who departed this life / at Hoogly, Sept. 24th 1851. / Aged 20 years and 2 months. / Also / their infant / Janet Anne. / Born and died September 16th 1851. / "Blessed are the dead which / die in the Lord."

50. Sacred / to the memory of / Anne Bridget BUCHANAN / late wife of / Cr. Sergt. Jno. Buchanan, / Light Company H. M. 25th Regiment / who departed this life / on the 17th day of November. / Anno Domino (*sic.*) 1830. / Aged 27 years and 6 months. / This stone is erected by the / Officers, / Non-commissioned Officers and Privates / of the Light Company / as a tribute of respect and esteem for her amiable / virtues and useful qualifications.

51. Sacred / to the memory of / Charlotte HOLLAND. / Infant daughter of Rd. and Elizabeth Holland / Priv. H. M. 38 Regiment / who died 26th June / 1835. / Aged 15 months and two days.

52. Sacred / to the memory of / Jane ARMSTRONG, who departed this life / on the 20th October / Aged 37 years. / "Blessed be the pure in heart, / for they shall see God." [Above—1852.]

53. Sacred / to the memory / of / Charlotte DIXON, daughter of Private Wm. and Rebecca Dixon. / Hs. Ms. 38th Regiment / who departed this life 29th June, 1835. / Aged 13 years and 4 months.

54. Sacred / to the memory of / the wife of Mr. DIXON H. M. 9th Foot. / Who departed this life on October, 1845. / Aged 37 years. / This Tomb was erected by her / Husband, William Dixon.

55. Sacred to / the memory of / Constance Ross, / daughter of George C. HILLIER, / who died on the 28th July, 1767. / "Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."

56. In memory of / Mr. John HARLE, / Missionary to the Heathen / who died August 12th 1822. / Aged 33 years. / Intrepidity, zeal, and love to souls / distinguished his life / and his end was peace.

57. Sacred / to the memory of / Mrs. Jessie DONNITHORPE, / Relict of the late Lieut. Henry Donnithorpe. / H. M. 44th Regiment. / Died 23rd September, 1857.

58. In memory of / Henry DONNITHORPE / Son of the Late Henry Donnithorpe / Lieut. H. M. 44th Regiment / and Jessie his wife. / He died at Chandernagore. / February 11th 1843. Aged 14 years.

59. In memory of / Mrs. Margaret DORMOND. / Born 6th April, 1800 / Died 17th July, 1831. / "A broken and contrite heart, and God, / Thou wilt not despise."

60. Sacred / to the memory of / Charlotte Adelaide. / Relict of the late / Robert Thomas William BETTS. / Born 12th April, 1797. / Obiit 25th January, 1864. / "She is not dead but sleepeth."

61. At Chandernagore / of Cholera / on the 1st April 1845, ½ past 6, p. m., / Walter Lewis Henry Baillie, / Infant son of Henry Gerard and Caroline BETTS. / Aged 1 year 2 months, 24 days. / "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken / away, blessed be the Name of the Lord."

On other side of the same Monument.

Lewis BETTS. Born 26th October 1786. Died 20th August, 1835 and Charles (alias Lucky) BETTS, Born 15th December 1800. Died 10th September 1838.

62. Sacred / to the memory of / Lionel Vivian / the beloved son of / H. Arthur THOMPSON. / Born 15th July 1868. / Died 2nd December 1869. / "Of such is the kingdom of Heaven."

63. In / memory of / Mr. John Richard ROSS Jr. / Post-master at Patna. / Born 6th October 1813. / Died 27th July 1847. / "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord."

64. Sacred / to the memory of / Mr. John Richard ROSS / of Hoogly, / who departed this life on the 3rd June 1831. / Aged 45 years. / They who sleep in Jesus will / God bring with Him."

65. Sacred / to the memory / of / Mr. George JOHNSTONE / late of Calcutta / who departed this life / in the 45th years of his Age / Obiit (sic) 9th October 1819.

66. Sacred / to the memory of / May, the affectionate wife of Col. Sergt. WENN, H. M. 5th Fusiliers, who departed this life on the 16th July, 1857. / Aged 26 years. / "In this would ye shall have tribulation. / Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."

67. Sacred / to the memory of / John REEVES, / who departed / this life 16th April, A.D. 1842. / Aged 9 years 3 months / 18 days. / Also of / Francis REEVES, who departed this life / 5th May, A. D. 1842, Aged 4 years and 2 months and / 3 days. / Also of Setila REEVES who departed this life 8th April, A.D. 184—. Aged 1 year and 4 months and 7 days. Whose / Remains are deposited near this place. / The beloved and only children of John.....Reeves, H. M.....own R.....

68. Sacred / to the memory of / Mrs. Louisa DEFEGRADY, / wife of Mr. Defegrady, / Assistant Apothecary / 1st Bn. Arty. Dum Dum, / who departed this life at Chinsurah / on the 11th of September, 1835, / Aged 29 years / This monument is erected by her / disconsolate Husband

69. Sacred / to the memory of / Mrs Margaret MORRELL / who departed this life / August, 15th 1839, / Aged 52 years and 5 months / Widow of the late L. H. Morrell Esq. Indigo Planter. / Affection weeps, / Heaven rejoices.

70. To the memory / of / Adelaïd VERNIEUX / Died 16th November, 1844 / Aged 4 years and 4 months.

71. To the memory of / Mr. H. A. Borwater. / Relict of / the / Humble Georg Louis VERNET / Ci-devant Director of / the Dutch E. I. Company in Bengal. Obit 12th July, 1793.

72. Here lyeth the / Body of Christian HELLYAR, / wife of Charles Hellyar, / Merchant in Calcutta / who departed this life on the 13th day of October, 1783 / in the 39th year of her age / An honest and endearing wife and / a most tender mother / " My days are gone like a shadow, / and / are withered like grass."

73. Sacred to the memory of / Mrs. Mary DIEMER, / second daughter of / Charles Weston, Esq. of Calcutta, / who in the bloom of her life / was broken off by a lingering disorder / at Bandell the 3rd of June 1782 / in the 23rd year of her age. / She was in her life plain and open, / Humble in her mind / Grave and modest in her conversation, / Constant in her friendship; / Untainted by the fluctuating fashion of the age; / Sincere in her piety to God; / Sympathizing with her fellow-creatures; / Patient and resigned under all her sufferings; / An obedient Daughter, / a faithful Wife; a tender Mother; Beloved and esteemed in her life; / Lamented and regretted in her death, / especially by her affectionate Husband, J. C. Diemer, V. D. M.

[Texts on the other side of the monument.]

74. To / the memory / of / Lieut. DENT, / who died at Bandel, / in June, 1782.

75. Here lyeth your body / of Elizabeth Johnson, / daughter of / Charles WESTON, Merchu, / who departed this life / the / twenty-fifth day of March, 1783. / Aged 22 years.

76. Sacred / to the memory / of / Matilda PAGE, / daughter of Sergt. Major / David Page, / H. M. 16th Regiment of Foot, / who died on the / 20th June, 1823. / Aged 1 year 8 months / and 8 days.

77. Sacred / to the memory / of Mrs. Catherine LENNON, / who departed this life / the 6th day of September, / A. D. 1824. / Aged 55 years.

78. In memory / of / Mr. / Wm. ROWEN, / 6th Foot, / who died 7th October, 1832. / Aged 49. / Leaving a disconsolate wife and nine children /

to deplore his irreparable loss. / He was an affectionate Husband, / and an indulgent Father, / a sincere Friend, / he died deeply respected / by all who knew him.

79. Erected to the memory / of / N W GIFFENARY, / Assistant Surgeon H. M. 16th Regiment, / by his sincere friends, / Cpts. Dalzell and Mylins. / Died at Chinsurah. 12th November, 1832. / Aged 27.

80. Sacred / to the memory of the Revd. C. D. KRAUSS / of the C. M. S. / Kapasdanga, / died on the 14th October, 1849. / Aged 35 years and 3 months. / "Fear not for I have redeemed thee. / Isaiah, XLIII /

81. To the memory of Eliza M^r. / HERROLD, wife of J. C. Herrold, / Pensioner Sergt. H. C. S., / who departed this life the 7th / December, 1835. Aged 30 years / Leaving a Husband and 3 / children to lament their loss.

82. Sacred / to the memory of / Mary, / Wife of T. RICHARDSON Esq. / Civil Service, / who departed this life, / 11th September, 1830, / at the early age of 19 years. / "God's will be done."

83. In memory of / Alexander BLUNTISH, / who died 30th May 1841. / Aged 20 years.

84. Sacred / to the memory of / Ellen, daughter of / P. and M. COCKER, / died 27th July, 1845. / Aged 1 year and 10 months. [Text]

85. Sacred / to the memory of / Joseph Henry, / who died 29th July, 1833, / Aged 17 years / also of Margaret / who died 6th of January 1846 / Aged 6 years / Beloved Children of William and Henrietta M. FULLER. [Verses.]

86. Sacred to the memory of / Mary, / who departed this life / on the 18th August 1836, / Aged 34 years: / and of / Mr. John SANKEY, / her beloved Husband, / died on the 20th November, 1864. / Aged 72 years, 6 months and 8 days. / "Blessed are the pure in heart, / for they shall see God." / This Tomb is erected as / a tribute of fond affection by his loving / and dutiful children.

87. Sacred / to the memory of / Elizabeth Mary / the beloved child of / Samuel and Catherine WAUCHOPE, / died on the 12th December, 1840 / Aged 4 years, 7 months, and 13 days. / "Suffer little children to come unto me, and / forbid them not for such is the kingdom of God."

88. Sacred / to the memory / of / W. H. VERBOON Esq., / who departed this life / on the 26th November, 1830, / Aged 83 years and 5 months.

89. Aula Lucis. / Johann Fredrich GEISSLER, / Surgeon. Died 27th May, 1828, / Aged 76 years.

90. Johann Fredrich GEISSLER, / Junior, / died 6th April, 1801, / Aged 9 years.

91. Beneath this stone lie / the mortal remains of / Gregorius

HERKLOTS, Esq. / Fiscal of Chinsurah / he was born at Breenen, January 9th, 1768 : / Arrived at Chinsurah in 1789 : / Resided there for a period of sixty-three years, / and died May 20th, 1852 : / Aged 84 years. / Employed in responsible offices by both the Dutch and English Governments, / he discharged the duties of public life / with unblemished integrity, fidelity and zeal. / He rested with the most childlike faith / upon the promises of the Redeemer, and made / submission to his Master's will the law of his life. / His religious principle was especially exhibited / in Christian hospitality; in liberality to the Missionary / Cause, and in kindness to the poor. / His Christian duties as a husband, a father, / and a citizen, he sought to fulfil according to / the law of Christ, and through His Spirit's aid. / Those among whom he lived will long remember / him with warmest esteem. / This memorial of his excellence is raised / by the grateful affection of his surviving children.

92. In memory of Mrs. C. C. HERKLOTS, / Born 12th March 1774. / Obiit 9th June, 1846. / Aged 72 years, 3 months. / Previously buried in the same place / her children and grand-children.

Margaret Adelheid, died in 1795, aged 3 days.

Gregorius Peter, died in 1800, aged 3 years 9 months and 23 days.

Catherine, died in 1806, aged 2 years and 2 months.

Carol, died in 1812, aged 6 days.

Henry Robert, died 1815, aged 1 year, 8 months.

Grand-children.

Luckyn Henry William BETTS, died in 1817. Aged 10 months.

Louisa Helen BETTS, died in 1822, aged 1 month, 11 days.

Alphonso Herklots LACROIX, died in 1828, aged 6 months, 22 days.

Henry Allen HERKLOTS, died in 1830, aged 3 days.

93. J. H. F. BLUME / is overleden / 16th October, Ao. 1809, / Oud 22 Jaaren.

94. I. C. L. BLUME is overleedend / 11th July, Ao. 1797, / Oud 70 Jaaren.

95. Hier Rust / Cornelis Johanna / VAN NIEROP, Ao. 1793.

96. Hier Rust / Johan Willem, / Salomon / VAN HAUGWITZ Geb. den 20th September, 1744 : / en / overln. den 12th November 1796.

97. Hier legd / De Brave en Deugdzaame / Cornelis CUYPER / in lever equipagie opzigter deezes Colonie. / Overleeden den 9 May Ao. 1813, in den onderdom / van 66 jaaren 5 maanden en 18 dagen waarvan hy 50 acter eenvolgende jaaren de Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie. hier in Bengale, met de Meeste trouw en yven, gecheerd heeft. / Zyne asse in Vrede.

98. Hier legd begraven / Jouchin SPIEGEL, Die na zyn leers tyd in / eerlyjkely te thesteed te hebben. / 15 overleeden / op den 4e February, 1794 / in het 45e jaar Zynes onderdoms. / Zeer betrewd by Zine Weduwe Margareta Ann Spiegel, / Die / Ter Zynar welvercheinde gedagtenis. Dezer graf Zuil heest op gerecht.

Here are deposited / the bodily remains / of / Jouchin SPIEGEL, / who / after a well spent life here / in honest industry / departed hence / the 4th day of February / 1794. / In the 45th year of his age / Much regretted by his Relict / Mrs Margareta Ann Spiegel / who / to his well deserved memory / erected this monument.

99. A Husband's tribute / to the memory of / Helen Wilhelmina OVERBEEK, / the best of wives, / who slept in Jesus, / 18th January 1825, / Aged 18 years. / Weep not, she is not dead but sleepeth. / As Jesus died and rose again, even so. / Them also which sleep in Jesus, will / God bring with Him.

100. Sacred to the memory of / Daniel Anthony OVERBEEK, / last Dutch Governor of Chinsura. / Obitt 25th September, 1840. / Aged 76 years, / "The memory of the just is blessed / and he shall be as the light of the morning / when the sun riseth."

101. A Father's tribute / to the memory / of his beloved son, / Peter Theodore Gerard OVERBEEK. / Obitt 12th September 1831, / Aged 33 years. / He died as Christians die, and / his father envies him his grave.

102. Hier Rust / Cornelis RIETVELD.

103. Hier Rust / Antoine de MAFFE. Ao. 1793.

104. Hier Rust / Pieter BRUEYS / In Leven Opperkoopmanen Hoofd. Administrateur / te Chinsurah / Overleeden den XXIII Augustus MDCCLX. XXIII, / Ond zynde / LI Jaaren, IX Maanden en XVII Dagen.

105. Hier Legt De Zoon Van Johannes Baacherach / Adriana WYBORCH Geborenen / Gestorvenen, December Ao. 1760.

106. Tergedagtenisse Van Wylen / den Heere Lucas Jurrantz ZUYDLAND / in leeven Capitan ter zee Equipage en Baanmz, gebooren te Nien wolda 21 Maart Ao. 1698. / Obitt den 25 October Ao. 1766.

107. Hier Rust / Elisath Petronella / VAN ZANDYK, Dedreve / Brand / Obitt Dn. 21st October 1817. / Over 40 Jaagn. 10n. 21 da.

108. Hier / Rust / Mevrouw C. G. KLOPPENBURG / Weduwe Van Wylen den Heere / Gregorius HERKLOTS / in leeven Opperhoofd te Kassimbazar. / Obitt. 9th October 1820, ond 73 Jaaren.

Ter memori / Van / Carolina VAN'T HART. Obitt den 16 Maiz in 1803. Ond 18 yr. 10 Mn. 20 Dn. / Des Zelfs dochterje Carolina Forsyth Van't Hart, Overln. 28th September, 1803, and 4 mn. 17 da. / De Heere heest ge genen: Die Heere heest genomen, de Naem des Heere. sij geloost. Job 1: 21

Odat sij wijs. waren: Sij Souden dit vernemen. Sij Souden op: haer
eijnde merken. Deut. 32. 29. "Jehovah gives in wisdom, takes again, /
but bless His Name, His Son, and love remain." Job. 1, 21. / 'These things,
O God; teach all to know and learn, grace to repent, believe, be saved,
bestow." Deut. 32. 29. Opgerecht by Wm. Von Hart Mamen Van / der
Van den Overleedens.

109. Here repose the remains of / William VAN'T HART, Esq. Sr. /
who departed this life on September 7th, 1837. / Aged 67 years, 5 months and
3 days. / Here also rest the ashes of his children Elizabeth and Henry, / who
died respectively on May 28th, 1816, / and on September 3rd 1821.

Not lost but gone before.

Yet.....we must all.

When.....Sabbath in the tomb at last.

We all shall meet in Christ.

This tablet is erected by / Mary Van't Hart, the bereaved Widow, / as a
tribute of her affection and esteem / for departed excellence.

110. Christofil Maurits / DOEVE / in Leeven / ti te. Koopman Eer /
Ste Pakkuys Mees / ter en Negocie Boekwyler. / Obit den 4 February, /
Anno. 1766.

111. To the memory / of / the Rev. Nathaniel FORSYTH / of
Smalholm Bank, Lockmaben in Scotland, / Missionary, / who arrived at
Calcutta, / December 1798, / and after a laborious, holy / and exemplary life, /
died at Chandernagore / in February 1816, / Aged 47 years. / This stone is
erected / by Captain Hugh Reid of London. /

On Separate Tablet.

The deceased is affectionately remembered / by his Friends, / as the
first faithful and zealous / Protestant Minister / in Chinsurah.

112. Here / lies the Body / of Mrs. Frances NICKERS, / who departed
this life / August 11th 1789, Aged 39 years.

113. Hier Rust / Fredrik WIEMAN. / Ao. 1791

114. Sacred / to the memory of / the beloved wife / of T. A. WISE,
M. D. / and of their son / Emilius Somerset. / The mother died at Calcutta /
on the 12th May 1839, Aged 27 years. / And the Son at Hooghly / on the
6th October 1835. / Aged 2 years and 6 months.

115. Sacred / to the memory of / Mrs. Alice Mary SUTHERLAND /
wife of Major Sutherland, / H. M. 10th Regiment. / Died 28th August, 1816,
Aged 26 years.

116. Sacred / to the memory / of / Mary, the wife of / Sergeant Major
Mc CARTHY, / who died 27th July, 1846 / Aged 23 years.

117. Martha / wife of the Rev. G. MUNDY. / Died July 30th 1824.
Aged 23 years. / Her Christian Friends / By whom she was much and

deserved beloved, / Sympathising with her afflicted Husband / have as an expression of their sorrow / and testimony of her work / united in erecting / this Tablet / to perpetuate her memory. / "Be ye also ready."

118. Louisa, the beloved wife of / Rev. G. MUNDY. / Died July 7th 1842. / Aged 37 years. / Her life was devoted to the service / of Christ, and Him alone in death, / she rested her hopes. / She was the friend of the poor / and the instructor of the young, / and largely secured their esteem / and affection. / "The blessing of them that were / ready to perish came upon her, / and she caused the widow's heart / to sing for joy."

119. In memory of / J. W. Ultimus / Son of the Rev. W. MORTON, / who too early lost / or changed earth for heaven. / Nov. 25th 1834. / Æt. 3 yrs.

To join him there here with his dust repose,

Is all the hope his sorrowing father knows.

120. The Remains / of / Maria Beatrice / and of still-born male twins, / the children of W. and C. MORTON.

121. Here repose / the mortal Remains / of / Caroline and / Isabella / the wife and daughter / of / the Rev. W. MORTON / minister of Chinsurah / 1826 / [verses].

122. To the memory of / R. W. HESSING,* the son of Col. G. W. HESSING / late in the Service of D. R. Sindiah / who died the 27th July 1806 / Aged / 3 years, 8 months and 21 days.

* In January last I visited the old Cemetery at Agra, (which after St. John's, Calcutta, is the most beautifully maintained cemetery I have ever visited in India. I had not time to copy inscriptions, and I take the following inscription on Colonel John HESSING's tomb from *Keene's Handbook for Visitors to Agra*. This huge tomb is obviously intended to reproduce the idea of the Emperor Akbar's tomb, *ex tenebris in lucem*.

"Sacred to the memory of John William HESSING, late a Colonel in Service of Maharajah Dowlat Row Sindiah, who after sustaining a lingering and very painful illness for many years with a true Christian fortitude and resignation, departed this life, 21st July 1803, aged 63 years, 11 months and 3 days. As a tribute of their affection and regard, this is erected to his beloved memory by his disconsolate widow, Ann HESSING and afflicted sons and daughter, George William HESSING, Thomas William HESSING and Magdalen Sutherland. He was a native of Utrecht in Holland, and came out to Ceylon in the military Service of the Dutch E. I. Company in the year 1752, and was present at the taking of Candia by their troops. Five years afterwards he returned to Holland, and came out to India in the year 1763, and served under the Nizam of Deccan. In the year 1784 he entered into the service of Madarow Sindiah, and was engaged in the several battles that led to the aggrandisement of that chief, and wherein he signalized himself so by his bravery as to gain the esteem and approbation of his employers. More particularly in the battle of Rhonda Gown, near Agra, in 1787, which took place between the Chief and Nowaub Ishmael Beg, when he, then a Captain, was severely wounded. On the death of Madarow Sindiah in 1793, he continued with his successor Dowlat Row Sindiah, and in 1798 he attained to the rank of Colonel, and immediately after to the command of the Fort and City of Agra, and which he held to his death."

After the death of Colonel John HESSING, Colonel George HESSING succeeded to his brother in the command at Agra. Even in the seventh edition of *Keene's Handbook* no attempt is made to reconcile the statement on p. 53 that John HESSING died in 1802 with the inscription given on p. 196.

123. To / the memory / of / John SHERLOCH, son of Sergeant
.....and Catharine Sherloch, / of the Pension Establishment, / Died
on the 29th November, 1852 / Aged 14 years, 9 months and 18 days /
Beloved by all who knew him.

124. To / the memory of / Sarah, / wife of Thomas BETTS / who
after undergoing / a dangerous operation / and for upwards of fifteen months /
enduring severe bodily pain / with Christian patience and fortitude / in the
firm belief of a joyful resurrection / Departed this life / on the 16th of
September 1821 / In her 36th year / " O Death ! where is thy sting ? / O Grave !
where is thy victory ?"

125. John / Son of / W. H. B. ROSS. / Died 1856.

126. Sacred / to the memory / of Hugh WATSON / Pensioner
H. C. S. / who died 24th October, 1836 A. D. / Aged 44 years 7 months /
This was erected by his affectionate widow.

127. Sacred / to the memory of / Mrs. Bennet ALDER, / wife of Major
I. C. Alder / H. C. S. / Aged 29 years / Obit. 20th March, 1826.

128. Sacred / to the memory of / Mr. L. C. McCALLY, / who departed
this life on the 7th April, 1838 / Aged 29 years. / The Monument is erected
by / his kind friends of Assam.

The Nesbitt-Thompson Papers—IV.

No. 12.

BATH,

The 19th December, 1785.

MY DEAR THOMPSON,

I write at a distance from your letters, and can neither reply to them, nor inform you which of them I have received. In all I miss what has been uppermost in my mind whenever I have received them, the news of my old bureau and its contents. These, as I have already mentioned, consisted of secret letters and other papers which I have ever kept concealed from all eyes but my own; and some valuable portraits, valuable both for their execution and the representation of old and dear friends. It used to stand in my own apartment, and was the first package that I thought of; but by Francis's admirable care sent to the old house, and so either escaped my recollection afterwards, or recurred to it (if at all) as being dismissed to the ship. It is not possible after so long a lapse of time to recover either the bureau or the things that it contained, if you have not already, and long ago, secured them; yet I must continue to write my feelings about them till you tell me that they are safe, or that they are lost for ever.

I cannot write many, nor long letters. This must serve both for you and Larkins, for in three hours it must go to the post, or miss the packet, and in the three hours I have 300 things more to do, things which stand in the place of obligations, but belong to no class of duties which morality enjoins, prudence prescribes or pleasure recommends. Yet such as they are they are indispensable, and have filled up the great void of my life during the last six months of it, and vanishing like a mist from my remembrance have left the void of greater apparent extent than if they had never occupied it.

You and Turner stand where you originally did in my recommendations, but precluded, first by the spite of my enemies, and the indolence or pique of my own friends concurring, and lastly by an Act of Parliament, which prohibits all appointments to the service, till lists of the necessary servants are received from India, and fixed establishments formed upon them. Yet it is a point which I will never lose sight of, and am determined to accomplish it.

I have described my life as unprofitable. But it has not been absolutely misspent. I had an early occasion given me to enforce the design of opening the British Treasury for bills to an indefinite amount; and to recommend

with success some useful principles in opposition to others which would have done mischief. I drew up a recital of the 3 last months of my Government with a review of the whole period of it interwoven with the events of that short interval; and it has been read and studied as a rule of conduct by those whom I wish to think as I do. I have drawn up a series of arguments in examination of Mr. Pitt's Act, and heads for a new one; These I have presented to the Chancellor, the only man who can make any useful application of them; and he *was*, I know not if he *is*, disposed to it. These papers are voluminous, and I have no body to copy them: but if I can, I will send copies of them to you, for you and my friends to read and see that I have not grown torpid to the interest of the Company or the rights of its servants. Another deed I have done very lately, which has done no good, and I wish it may not have done myself harm: I mean, an attempt to prevent the conclusion of a weak, or wicked, agreement with the now French India Company. The effect has served only to open my eyes on some discoveries which I do not venture to commit to writing. Two conclusions only I may write, *viz.* that the Directors have totally lost their Agency, and that the property of the Company is to be cut into slices, and dealt out for the purchase of advantages of the general State, and those perhaps ideal.

My health is but feeble. My reputation stands as high as I can wish it, and I see, or think I see the beloved Partner of my life stand as high in the public estimation; which I prize far beyond my own credit. She is also improved in health beyond what I had dared to hope, and I trust will be restored in time to a confirmed strength of constitution. As to rewards and honors I have almost given up the expectation of either, though the wishes of many, and of many to whom I am personally unknown, are sanguine yet in the belief that they are yet in store and ready for me. With respect to the former I have been informed that they were withheld by Mr. P. when proposed a little before my arrival, on the plea that Mr. Burke having threatened to bring some criminal charges against me in the approaching meeting of Parliament, it would have been indecent to forestall them. Whether this man really means what he has threatened I know not, having heard nothing about him for many months, nor have I ever made him the subject of my enquiries.

We have heard of Lord Macartney's flight to Bengal; but I do not learn what impression it has made on those whom it first concerns.

Tell Larkins, I have received his letters in (I think) quintuplicate; and if the next that I receive are in the same tenor, I am afraid I must offer my service to those who will accept it, and begin the world again. Give my love to him, and other friends to whom it is due. I must make an end to this. Mr. Anstey and I are as much friends as if we had rode round the

Calcutta course together every day for the last fifteen years. Are you not glad of this! Mrs. Hastings desires me to assure you that you have a place in her kindest remembrance, and that she reproaches herself even for her inability to answer your letters, which however she will do in time for the next dispatches. I cannot omit to mention that I had a very pleasing testimony shewn me by Colonel Gordon and the other officers of the King's Army returned from India, of their esteem, in an elegant entertainment provided for me; many of them remaining in Town, though eager to revisit their families and friends, for that express purpose.

Adieu. I am ever, my dear Thompson, your most affectionate friend.

WARREN HASTINGS.

[NOTE.—At the head of this letter the following note has been added: "The following, written about the same time with the preceding gives a correct view of the writer's position at the moment especially as regarded his hopes of rest if not of honors. How misplaced these expectations were, the lapse of a few weeks sufficed to show." It is impossible to say what "the preceding" refers to.]

No. 13.

10 O'CLOCK TUESDAY NIGHT,
The 10th January, 1786.

DEAR SIR,

I am just now returned from the Court House where I have been employed all day—but as to-morrow will not be more a day of leisure, and as the packet [is] now under dispatch, I will not longer delay to write to you.

In my last letters I told you that the Commissioners at Chitpoor had detected a wicked conspiracy against the Dewan and his son—and that they reported their discovery together with the full acquittal of the Dewan and his son of all the charges which had been allged against them. The Sessions was sitting about that time: two of the false witnesses who actually appeared at Chitpoor were by the orders of the Board indicted, and one found guilty. Praun Kishun chose to trace the conspiracy a little nearer its source; we could get no higher than to Ramchunder Sein and Gopee Nazir: from them to the first movers of it, the way, though clearly visible to us, was not such as we could mark with unerring certainty to the eye of a Jury who had not been before employed in the contemplation of it. Against Ram Chaunder Sein, Gopee Nazir, Ghowlam Ashruff, and Odeit the Grand Jury found an indictment for a conspiracy. This and the report of the Commissioners at Chitpoor were surely grounds sufficient to have authorized

a man even of Mr. Macpherson's caution, to have pronounced on the innocence of the Dewan and his son. In truth he neither wished to find or represent them so. I wrote for him the minute of which I have before enclosed, and of which I again enclose, you a copy. The General would heartily have adopted the language of it—till this moment Macpherson has made no use of it. Gunga Govind Sing and his son must therefore work out their own salvation through the hazardous, expensive, tedious and discreditable ordeal of a prosecution for a conspiracy—hazardous, as it depends upon the able investigation of truth by those not used to its investigation, and whom the most wicked arts will be used to blind—discreditable, as it compells the prosecutors to enter into a contest with the vilest of men, and in a field where the vilest will be the most expert. I have secured the best abilities infinitely in the Court engaging Davies, who has exerted himself with more than his usual energy upon this occasion. Much I know of his exertions which are excited by the unfeigned attachment which he feels to every thing that regards your interest or your honor. It was not till after your absence that I knew his veneration for you. The labor of preparing for the cause, the finding evidence and an anxiety which I cannot describe have been principally mine. The cause has now been above a fortnight before the Court. Hitherto I have seen nothing that ought to make me doubt of success, and yet I am far from feeling confident. I will not venture to foretell the decision.

It has been much the fashion with Europeans to accuse the natives of insincerity. I have seen unanswerable proofs to the contrary in the conduct of many of your native friends, who to their honor continue their usual visits and respect to me merely from their remembrance of you. I have a large levy every Sunday morning at Alipoor in which you are the constant subject of conversation. They all beg me to assure them that you will come back again, and though I tell them I cannot give such hopes on any valid grounds they still conjure me to tell them so; for they say it would be impious, ominous and horrid to say otherwise. We say talk of the devil and his horns will appear, but they really think that to mention evil will conduce to the production of it.

The late regulations for the payment of paper say that the salaries and stipends payable to the *natives* shall be paid by drafts on the Treasury. This is surely impolitic. The discount on *their* drafts will be immense—not only because they will all be of a late date, but because they will seldom be regularly indorsed and negotiated, and Europeans will not like to purchase them. The Directors will put it into the power of the vakeels to cheat their principals by new modes. The Begum is much alarmed at it, and knows not how to act. She does not like to oppose an act of Government, and, if

it concerned herself alone, she says she would quietly submit to it; but all her dependants and inferiors look up to her for the security of their rights, and silence will disgrace her. I have told her vakeel that you may perhaps be able to get the resolution rescinded as far as it affects the house of Jaffier Ally Khan. I understand that the last General Letter contained an order that her stipend should not be reduced. This resolution for paying it in paper and one lately passed charging it with 5 per cent. to the resident are surely essential violations of that order:—

WEDNESDAY NIGHT,

The 11th January 1786.

I am just returned from Court. Our cause wears yet a very good aspect, though Mr. Graham who came as a witness for Ramchunder Sein did his worst to blacken it. Upon his cross examination I wrung from him several reluctant truths, but his obstinate retention of others astonished me and all who knew him. Upon coming out of Court several of the natives who attended on the part of Gunga Govind Sing, observed to me with a mixture of surprise*

as at a new and strange discovery that they never thought an English *gentleman* could so perjure himself. The crime is too heavy a one to impute to him, and yet upon my honor I *cannot* believe what he has told me upon his oath, viz.: "That neither Ramchunder Sein nor Sudder-U-Dein directly or indirectly by themselves or their agents ever requested or sought his assistance to effect the removal of Gunga Govind Sing and Praun Kishun or either of them"—and that they never directly or indirectly, etc., sought his assistance to place Ramchunder Sein in the office either of the Dewan or his son; "and that he never knew that either Ramchunder Sein, or Sudder-U-Dein had set on foot, were consulted on, or privy to any of the complaints which had lately been made against the Dewan and his son." I am thankful, however, that our case rests not upon the evidence of Mr. Graham, and that nothing he has said can materially weaken it.

The *Surprise* whose packet was opened on the _____† of December made us very happy in the accounts which she brought us of your safe arrival. Though all your friends confidently anticipated the honorable reception which awaited you, the intelligence of that event was received with as much joy and exultation as if it had been totally unexpected—to my mind indeed the confirmation of rational well grounded hope conveys a more pleasing triumph than the most unlooked for instances of good fortune. How I shudder when I reflect on what I should have suffered, if misled by that bad

* Words erased.

† Blank in Original MS.

advice which I concurred with others in forcing on you, you had delayed your resignation. How many indignities have you escaped? How many honors to yourself, how many advantages to your country have you secured by your decisive adherence to that purpose of which I am convinced not one man in Calcutta besides yourself could see the wisdom, and from which all your sincerest friends concurred in labouring to divert you. I am not ashamed to number myself with Kydd, Halhed, Croftes, Larkins and little Jonathan who were averse to your departure in opposition to any men, whoever they were, who advised it. The events which have taken place prove not the wisdom of *their* advice because they certainly did not foresee them. I will from my soul admit that these events prove the wisdom of your determination, because I know that when you formed it you actually did foresee and foretell many of them. Pray let Major Scott know that I am very thankful for the letter with which he favored me by the *Surprise*. I hope he will receive this as an answer to it. I am sure indeed that he will not be offended with any act which necessarily considers him, and you as one. His letter enclosed Persian letters from you *1st* to the Vizier and the principal people at his Court, *2nd* to the Nabob Mobauck-U-Dowla, *3* to Munny Beegum, *4* Ally Ibrahim Khan, and *5* Beneram Pundit. The first I delivered to the care of Palmer who was then in Calcutta—the *2nd* I sent to Pott, for I considered him as a man of your own nomination, and the Nabob himself besides had no vakeel whom I knew—the *3rd* I delivered to Nazir Mohamad Khawn the Begum's vakeel who has always attended me, the *4th* to the vakeel, and the *5th* to Bissumber. I have since heard nothing of any of the letters except that sent to the Nabob Mobauck-U-Dowla through Pott: of this I hear Mr. Macpherson has got a copy and is much displeased that you should have presumed to write it. This I have only heard from others and hardly know how to believe. But jealousy is the peculiar vice and the punishment too of weak and treacherous minds; so it is very possible.

Palmer I know has written fully to you. He seems bent upon the removal of Harpur. I have advised him not to push it too strenuously till he is sure a worse man will not succeed him. He hopes for Johnson, but *even* Johnson is too wise, too direct, too virtuous, too much your friend to serve Mr. M's purposes. He would I am convinced much rather confide in Petrie, and perhaps even in Murray. Palmer, I think, if he cannot with certainty effect the nomination of Johnson, should endeavour to keep Harpur in till he has seen whether you can effect the nomination either of himself or Halhed to that office, or wholly liberate the Nabob from any resident. The packet certainly closes to night, and I must therefore discontinue for the present the most agreeable of all the occupations which your absence has left me.

I send you many letters from your native correspondents. To

Mrs. Hastings, I shall write a few words, and if there is any thing in this which may be worthy of her perusal, I doubt not you will let her see it.

Believe me, Dear Sir, for such I am
Your grateful and faithful servant,
GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

Mrs. Hyde in whose house I am writing desires her compliments to you and Mrs. Hastings.

Davies upon the resignation of Sir John Day is to become Advocate-General. Be assured it is a debt you owe him to confirm his appointment and guard him against supersession. His integrity, courage and abilities will do honor to his Patron.

The 12th January.

I was not able to close last night, and have therefore an opportunity of sending you to-day's paper.

The Persian letters, I have sent under another cover—and in that cover is a short letter for Mrs. Hastings.

No. 14.

CALCUTTA,

The 28th January 1786.

My Dear & Hon'd. Sir,

My last letter was sent by the *Rodney*, but as she will not probably arrive in England so soon as the *King George* on which I purpose sending this I must here repeat, though it pains me to repeat, the sickening subject of that letter.

For this whole year past have I, weak and unarmed as your absence has left me, been fighting the battles of Gunga Govind Sing—allied with false or lukewarm friends, and opposed to enemies as headstrong as ignorance and prejudice can make them. Of all the mortifications which I have suffered in the contest not one has been so painful, as that he who pretended to be the leader and the strength of the battle should have had twenty opportunities of terminating it in a decisive victory, but neither spirit or integrity enough to avail himself of one of them. When the inquisition which sat at Chitpoor for the space of five months for the purpose merely of detecting the supposed delinquency of the Dewan, and his son, was at length compelled by irresistible conviction to declare that the charges against them were without foundation and that the grossest perjury had been employed by their enemies; when the truth of this report was confirmed by the verdict of a grand-jury; surely even Mr. Macpherson's prudence might have ventured to have declared their innocence. I am surprized indeed that prudence, mere prudence did not

compell him him to do so—for not idly to expect that he should have been influenced by the ten thousand more generous motives which would all have conspired to animate any other breast than his,—prudence surely directed that he should have acquitted himself with common decency to you—and how he will palliate, or account for this neglect of common decency, it puzzles me, with all my respect for his unequalled subtlety to guess. Pardon, Dear Sir, this freedom. If I speak of them or things at all, I must speak of them as they appear to me—and from the first moment I knew this gentleman my opinion of him has never varied. In short, Mr. Macpherson whilst he professed to Gunga Govind Sing himself and to me a decided support of him, was, as Mr. Stewart says, and there is nothing to contradict him, inviting attacks against him—but, whether this be true or not, I know that he has deceived him. He has deserted him. Far from giving him support he has abandoned him to the fury of his enemies, and has withheld that decision on his conduct which justice absolutely demanded—from my soul I believe he has withheld it because he knew it must pronounce his innocence, and render him less dependent. He keeps him as a sacrifice which he may in future immolate at the shrine of your enemies, should their ascendancy make them the gods of his devotion. Severe as this opinion is, I never held one with a stronger conviction of its truth. We shall do our best to defeat him, nor am I without hopes of working out our salvation without his assistance. The ordeal is a terrible one, for it is to contend in a court of law with such men as Ramchunder Sein and Gopee Nazir. These men were the principal instruments, though by no means the principal contrivers of several of the plots which were carried on against the Dewan and his son. To their share it fell to procure and to instruct the several false witnesses who were to charge the Dewan and his son with participation in the forgeries of Ghwolaam Ashraff, and who were happily detected in the every act of giving their evidence. Against the—

[NOTE:—This letter breaks off abruptly, as above.]

No. 15.

The 28th January 1789.

Dear Sir,

Young Palmer will deliver to you the public and secret abstracts from the beginning of 1783 to the day of your resignation. They are not bound—that work, I have left to be performed according to your own direction.

In case, I should not be able to write to you by the packet of this ship Palmer will explain to you the engagements which prevent me.

It would be presumption in me to recommend to you a son of Major Palmer, but I cannot deny myself the pleasure of bearing testimony to his merits, for of these you will probably hear but little from his father whose delicacy will prevent his saying much on a subject which in some measure does honor to himself.

I can assure you that Jack Palmer is universally esteemed as a very fine young fellow.

Believe me dear & bond. Sir,
Your obliged and grateful servant,
GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

No. 16.

CALCUTTA.

The 6th February 1786.

Dear Sir,

The bearer is Mr. Baxter, the owner of the *Eagle*, which has been lately taken up on very reasonable terms for the conveyance of dispatches to England.

Much of his success in this engagement will depend upon his being employed to bring dispatches back again. If such an employment for his vessel could be made compatible with the interest of the Company, and I should not presume to solicit it otherwise, I humbly request that you will favor him with your support; for he is a man of very good character and has hitherto pushed his fortunes under the auspicious of your friend Mr. Davies, who is much interested in his welfare.

I have the honor to be,
dear Sir,
Your most obliged and obedt. humble servant,
GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

No. 17.

LONDON.

The 25th February 1786.

My dear Thompson,

The Governor being so hurried as not to be able to write to you in the manner he wishes, desires me to do it for him. He says that since his arrival in England, he has purposely for various considerations kept himself aloof from the Court of Directors, and indeed he has not received that attention from them which he certainly merits, therefore, has not had

satisfactorily the acquaintance with their proceedings which he could desire. He further observes that the decease of his worthy friend Mr. Sullivan has widened the distance between him and the Court and its occurrence at the present crisis, is peculiarly unfortunate. However, he still enjoys opportunities of having gratuitous information, though unsought by him. Mrs. Hastings is making up the papers, which will convey to you information of Mr. Burke's progress in his attempt to substantiate the charges, he has so long boasted to bring against our friend. You must not, however, regard the statement of Mr. Pitt's and Mr. Dundas's speeches as fairly given, for they by no means spoke of our friend with such cool and sparing approbation as the paper describes. On the contrary (I was one day in the House myself) they both expressed the warmest applause of his conduct, and boldly declared their opinion, that instead of censure, he merited praise and honourable rewards from his country as the man, who beyond all doubt, had by his exertions alone, preserved to her, her possessions in the east. Even Mr. Burke seems to have receded from his usual violence, seeing no doubt the airy dagger of his gloomy imagination fly from his grasp at the instant when he means to clutch it. Instead of criminal he now seems to dwell most on charges of political error and it is the general opinion that, numerous as the motions are for papers, no criminal charge will be found in the House on their examining the papers called for, but rather that the perusal will open the mind of every member, who is not determinately set against conviction, and I believe persons of that description are now very few. It is lucky for our friend's cause that such papers are called for, as he will now have an opportunity of his conduct being judged of from the best evidence, his own correspondence shewing the real sentiments of his heart unprepared for defence against the attacks of an enemy and which he could not have brought to public notice himself without a charge of ostentation. I have no doubt but numbers of the opposition when they shall thus see Mr. Hastings as he really is, will be ashamed and sorry for having so long been blind to his merit, and be ready to repair the injury by joining in his exculpation. Mr. Burke has not yet made any specific charge, and it is thought that he will not be able to form any that will meet the approbation of the House. On Tuesday the business comes on, and Mr. Burke will then be pushed to make his charge. Thus the business stands at present, but be of good heart and let not thy noble courage be cast down, for the clouds of error are dispersing and truth must appear.

Mr. Hastings is glad to see that you have not entered yourself among the members of the assembly for petitioning against the bill as he thinks the language of their remonstrance is unbecoming and unworthy of the liberality of mind of gentlemen so respectable as Harry Vansittart and others and he

is much hurt that such persons should mix in the same committee with John Murray, Bristow, Cowper and Peter Murray. He says that he has every reason to suppose the clause respecting the disclosure of fortunes will be repealed, but that as to the Court of Judicature, that will stand and he congratulates India upon it for upon that point his own opinion is much altered after great and mature consideration. When he considers that this Court originally consists of 66 members of both houses and three of the most venerable characters in the Watson and that the accused person has the power of excluding so many of them should he chuse it, he must regard it as a Jury most likely to be liberal, impartial and humane. Such is his opinion on this head and he desires you will make it known to his Friends in India without reserve and he hopes that they will not be deceived by designing persons, but use their own judgments and reason.

The Governor has not yet heard of the papers relative to Gonga Govind, being at the India House. When he does and the matter is considered, he will stir himself in his favor and hopes to free him from all the assaults of his enemies. So far he learns already that the Directors are satisfied with his conduct and disapprove of the Proceedings of the Committee and Messrs. Stables and Stewart.

Lord Cornwallis was unanimously appointed Governor-General yesterday. What would you say at seeing me come with him? Do not suppose that I will, lest you be disappointed. The next ship shall bring you more information. God bless you, my dear Thompson and believe me,

Your ever affectionate friend,
JOHN SCOTT.

No. 18.

My dear Thompson,

You must yourself forgive me, and excuse me to my other friends: for I cannot write. Read all the preceding as mine, except my own praises.

I sent you a long letter and list of commissions by a late packet. I hope not the *Halswell's*. I cannot now repeat them, but request your particular attention to the following, viz.:—

To procure two large tiger skins, and 6 pair of sheets of the breadth of a bed, I forget whether of the Muslipatam or Vizanagram manufacture. Not to be very fine, but a degree above ordinary. Let these commissions be expressed to be for the Comte de Kaganeck, the Imperial Ambr, lest I should forget it. I have promised the speedy execution of this commission and owe it for his civilities.

Captain Ley has promised to take charge of a horse for me. Procure a good one for me, if you can; one equal to Sulliman. It is for Mrs. Hastings who cannot get one fit for herself in England. (My Arab is in amazing health, spirits and beauty). Be kind to Captain Ley, and introduce him to all my friends. He is a worthy gentleman; so is Mr. Caruthers his chief mate, and Mr. Lindsay who is gone on a former ship. Seek him, and be kind to him for my sake.

Mrs. Hastings grieves that she cannot write, but charges me to say everything kind for her. She is pretty well, but not so well as I wish.

Your friends in the *Crescent* were all in perfect health last month.

Adieu, Your affectionate,

W. HASTINGS.

[Endorsed:]—

Captain Jonathan Scott and W. Hastings, Esq.

LONDON,

The 25th February 1786. Received P. Berrington.

MONDAY,

The 10th July 1786.

No. 19.

ALIPOOR;

WEDNESDAY MORNING,

The 1st March 1786.

Dear Sir,

To the special care of Chapman, I commit the accompanying six letters from Mrs. Hastings to yourself. They are all precisely in the state in which I received them, and though two came to my hands open I can assure you that I have read neither of them. The opening of one is accounted for by the letter from Larkins in which it is folded. How the other came opened I have never been able to learn, though I believe it was received so from the hands of the General. Chapman will likewise deliver to you a parcel containing some books from Maulavy Ahmad which he says you directed him to search for before your departure, and which from the scarcity of them he thinks himself very fortunate in having procured. I have written to Mrs. Hastings on the concerns of the Beegum, and I have requested her to show you the letter. I am compelled to abridge my correspondence by means like this, as the cause of Gunga Govind Sing leaves me hardly a moment for any other business. Its weight on me both in court and still more out of court is, I assure you, very great. It has hung on me with unceasing pressure for above three months. Mine are not the common

feelings of an advocate upon this occasion. I know that Ramchunder Sein and Gopee Nazir were the instruments of a party bent upon the disgrace of all your friends and all your measures. Ramchunder Sein in particular was introduced through Mrs. Moore* and Mr. Dunkin the lawyer to Lord Macartney, to whom as the earnest of his future labors he presented an immense volume of calumnies against you and your administration. The arts which they are now practising to defeat justice and mislead the jury are shocking to humanity, and to me who foresees the great probability of their success they occasion infinite anxiety. Every moment of my life is now employed to expose and defeat them. But *our* business is to display truth whilst their's is only to conceal it, and where men are either naturally blind, or disposed to shut their eyes against the truth, I need not tell you whose task is most difficult.

I ardently long to be again at your side, but when I am to have that happiness the Great Bestower of it alone can tell: for my own part, I can hardly form a conjecture as to the time of my departure from this country.

Believe me, dear & hon'd. Sir,
Your obliged faithful & grateful servant,
GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[I am now going to court.]

No. 20.

CALCUTTA,

The 4th March 1786.

My dear Sir,

The paper is very bad; but it is the best, I can get, for I am not writing at my own house.

There is no such thing as pleasure unalloyed by pain. Infinite was the delight with which I received and opened your two letters delivered to me about ten days ago by Mr. Basset, for they were the first and indeed the only letters which I had received from you since your departure; but how great was my concern to learn that you had such just causes for anxiety; and that you had looked for relief, where I knew you could not obtain it. You expected, I find, to receive the pictures and the papers which you had missed by the first ship which should reach England after your arrival—alas, I have not till this moment been able to find any of them. Of the pictures I had never heard till I received your letters by Mr. Basset. For Nobkishun's

* Probably Mrs. Peter Moore, née Sarah Webb—the great-aunt of the Novelist, W. M. Thackeray.

Bonds indeed I had long searched but searched in vain before your departure. Dexterity and address more than diligence will now be necessary for their recovery. I have no recollection of ever having seen such a bureau as that to which you allude. You say it had been removed in your absence by Francis* to the Old House. If such was the case, it was probably taken possession of by the Company's Sircars as Company's property, for I found that their claims as such were much more extensive upon your departure, than I had expected them to be; but upon an appeal to Larkins, he informed me that many articles of furniture had been carried before your departure to the Company's account. To Larkins indeed I left as you had always done the management of your moneyed concerns. He it was who upon your departure locked up all the rooms. He it was who opened them, and sent their contents to the auction room. I told you in my letter by the *Cornwallis* and by other letters, that I have rescued from thence a few things which I was sure you never intended should be sent thither. I have searched all the godowns at the Old House for such a bureau as you describe, but without finding it. I have not yet divulged the motives of my search, but if it continues unsuccessful I shall advertize for the pictures and the pictures only. These will probably be produced without reluctance, and if they are, may lead to the discovery of the other articles. In short, my dear Sir, assure yourself that no vigilance, no labour, no address of which I am capable, shall be wanting to restore them to you.

Remember that when I received your letters by Mr. Basset, the *Dutton* was gone there. Then remained only three ships—the *Deptford*, the *Dublin*, and the *Winterton*—the *Deptford* is now dispatched and carries a Thibet Bull to you—the *Dublin* which is to be next dispatched is to carry a Thibet Bull to some friend of Mr. Macpherson. Upon neither of these ships therefore could I have sent a horse to St. Helena. The attempt would have been probably prejudicial both to the horse and the bull, and certainly unreasonable towards the Captain. The *Winterton* is likely to sail at so unseasonable a time of year, that I would hardly wish even Mr. Stables to take his passage in her. But by one of the first ships of the next season I will assuredly send a horse and a good one too to St. Helena. I could almost find in my heart to part with Soleyman himself for such a purpose. He deserves to be the inhabitant of so blessed an Island, and great would be his honor and his happiness in stocking it with a race as noble as himself. I wish I knew with certainty how you and Mrs. Hastings would like to have him so disposed of. We are otherwise inseparable, for if he does not go to St. Helena, he will go with me if I ever go to England.

* Dr. Francis, Hastings' Medical man.

I have been fagging all day at the cause. We begin to see the end of it. I suppose it will be over within these twelve days.

I have the honor to be,

Dear Sir,

Your obliged & grateful servant,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

No. 21.

ALIPOOR,

The 24th March 1786.

My dear Sir,

Pardon the liberty I take in most earnestly recommending to your good offices the bearer, Mr. Byrt. He was an officer on board the ship which brought me to India. Such situations are not frequently, I believe, productive of much mutual esteem, but his humanity, good sense, courage and generosity attached me to him by ties of the sincerest friendship, and every thing I have since heard or seen of him have strengthened them.

All I have myself been able to do for his benefit is to secure to him an advance of about 3,000£ in England which with the assistance of some of his other friends, he supposed, would be sufficient to procure him the command of one of the Company's ships. Should he continue to pursue this object let me entreat you to favor him, not with your money, for I know you have none spare, but with your interest. You will no doubt be able by your influence to assist greatly in getting him a ship, and afterwards in getting him a good voyage. I may perhaps be asking infinitely more than I am aware of: grant, however, no more than is perfectly convenient to you. I have no friend in the world to whom I ought or would wish to sacrifice one moment of your ease or happiness. I am going to Court to close the evidence for the prosecutors in reply: their Counsel will then observe on it. We shall afterwards observe in reply upon all the evidence which has been given, and the judge will then charge the jury. This may perhaps be the work of another fortnight. You have no conception of the trouble which this business has given me.

Believe me,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

No. 22.

ALIPOOR, SUNDAY,
The 25th March 1786.

My dear Sir,

Among the number of your native friends who eversince your departure have kept holy the seventh day by continuing on it their visits to Alipoor, there is not one more constant nor more sincere in his devotions than Bissumber Pundit. He has just left me. The copy of a letter which I enclose from Moodajee he desired me to send to you. He is himself gone home to write one to you, but I fear it will not be finished in time, for the packet will close within these two hours. He has lately solicited an exemption from the Guya* duties in favor of 250 pilgrims the followers of Ruggogee. Finding the Government not willing to comply with his request, he has begun a history of the great employments which he and his brother have held and the honors with which they have been rewarded. He has yet got no lower than Elliott's Embassy to Berar and has already filled a volume. Time will be at an end before he can at this rate get through his embassy with Mr. Anderson to Cuttack, his doings at Benaris, his commission with Chapman, his possession of your picture, and the many other things which have made him great. The completion, however, of his work must logically secure him immortality for without immortality he can never complete it.

We have at length closed the evidence on the prosecution of Ram Chunder Sein and Gopee Nazir, and my labors in it are therefore at an end, for to observe on the evidence, to detect the fallacy and in many instances the gross perjury of that part of it which has been produced by the defendants, to expose the sophistry of their Counsel, and to shew truth in its own form to the Jury and to compel their acknowledgement of her, all this is the work of Davies as Senior Counsel—and so confused are his zeal and abilities that I feel no apprehensions for his due performance of it. Mine was the task to search for and produce the necessary proofs, a task I assure you of infinite labor and anxiety. One instance may give you an adequate idea of it.

We proved that whilst Ghwolaum Ashruff was confined in the Fort under a Naiq and four seapoys, he went with the connivance of his guard to visit Gopee Nazir, when some of their future machinations against Gunga Govind Sing were planned. To combat this fact, the defendants called upon Colonel Hampton and Colonel Watson to swear that it was not possible for Ghwolaum Ashruff to have got out of the Fort under such circumstances—which they both did and very roundly too against positive proof that the fact had actually happened. Hampton poor man had been tempted to think that his military

* Gaya.

character was at stake, and Watson was the avowed friend the bail indeed for Ram Chunder Sein. Hampton was misled by the opinions of those who wished to deceive him—Watson only by his zeal for the cause which he wished to serve. It is indeed the only favorable circumstance I have ever known in his life—that in this instance he hesitated not to commit a crime for the benefit of his friend, which there is no doubt he would at any time commit for his own. It was impossible, however, that we could suffer such an opinion opposed as it was to well established facts to pass uncontroverted. I spoke to Pearce, Captain Kyd and others upon the subject, and explaining to them the place and manner in which Ghwolaum Ashruff was confined, they were all of opinion that many motives might have concurred to induce the guards of Ghwolaum Ashruff to suffer him to go out of the Fort, themselves accompanying him—for such was the fact. In our reply therefore we proved all the circumstances of Ghwolaum Ashruff's confinement. Pearce and Kyd declared their opinions in Court, and Hampton came and amended his declaring that it had been grounded on misinformation. To furnish this single head of proof in reply cost me many days, though it was apparently so simple, and rested wholly with Europeans. I should tell you that Watson, not contented with giving his own opinion in favor of the character of Ram Chunder Sein, chose to give yours also, declaring that he had recommended Ram Chunder Sein to you, that you had expressed the highest sense of his integrity and abilities, and that he believed you had at that time an intention of employing him in some office of high trust.

As far as a clear well-connected chain of the most direct and pointed evidence can secure the success of a cause, we may rely on the success of ours. But that 12 low men should continue for three months together proof against all the arts which have no doubt been practised to mislead this jury—against bribery—against misrepresentation both in Court and out of it—against even the suggestions of pardonable though erroneous compassion, is a consummation hardly to be expected—and the ignorance, or obstinacy, or wilful villainy of any one of the 12 will sufficiently answer all the purposes of our adversary. I have no patience with Macpherson when I consider that it is his irresolution, if not duplicity, which has compelled us to appeal to so hazardous, so uncertain, a test for the proof of Gunga Govind Sing's innocence—or rather for the proof of the consummate villainy of his opponents. On Thursday next Davies replies. The Judge will then read the whole evidence to the Jury which will probably take four days, and then will follow the verdict.

In some of my late letters, I slightly mentioned to you Larkins' plan for the discharge of the Company's debt. Whether good or bad in other respects, it bears with much inhumanity and injustice on the natives who are compelled by

it to receive paper for their demands. As if this hardship were not sufficiently great, the Board, I find, have appointed Mr. Dashwood to issue the certificates to the *zemindars* for their *Mosharia*. These certificates bear no interest, and to the enormously heavy discount to which these certificates above all others will be subject, the Board have liberally charged them with five per cent payable to Mr. Dashwood for his trouble in issuing them. I do maintain that humanity—even that under-valued though truly excellent quality good-nature—is necessary to the wise formation of political arrangements. Had Larkins one particle of good-nature, of common humanity about him, he would never have devised a plan so injurious to the rights of men whose claims I admit have no other security than our justice and generosity; and had not the members of the Board been destitute of common sense as well as of common justice and generosity, they never would have adopted such a plan. All their object is to *acquit* themselves as they call it to the administration at home—that is, to make a pompous and imposing parade of severe economy—totally neglecting all those enlarged principles of policy which are necessary to give permanency, and real value to the possessions of the Company. Like dishonest stewards they cover rapacity, their oppressions of the tenants, and the ultimate impoverishment and forfeiture of the estate by exhibiting to the short-sighted landlord a large rent-roll, and telling him that in every question between him and his tenants they have always decided in his favor. I have taken no pains in wording this, but the idea is, I am sure, a just one, and applicable to almost every measure of Government since your departure.

The Beegum has sent four chairs and a very beautiful table all of ivory for Mrs. Hastings. They did not arrive in time for any of the ships. All were gone except the *Winterton*, and of that not a single officer was in town of whom I could request to take charge of them. I will take great care of them and send them by one of the first ships of next season—so I will a horse to St. Helena—and I hope your miniature pictures and papers to you—for though I have not yet been able to secure them, I do not despair.

I never saw either the pictures or the papers.

Bissumber has just now sent his letter, and I will therefore close my own.

I thank you for all my obligations to you and have the honor to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged & faithful servant,

GEO. NESBITT THOMPSON.

[To be continued.]

NOTICE.

THE Ven Archdeacon Walter K. Firminger, who has been Editor of *Bengal Past and Present* since its commencement in 1907, is leaving India early in July on six months' leave. As the Archdeacon may be returning only to complete a comparatively short period of service, he has been compelled to resign the editorship. The seventeen bound volumes of *Bengal Past and Present*, the reprints of Mrs. Fay's Letters, Grand's Narrative, the Genuine Letters of Asiaticus, the Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna, remain as evidence of work done either for, or in connection with, the Society, while two volumes of Rangpur, two of Midnapur, and four of Sylhet District Records, the Consultations of the Select Committee 1757, the Supervisor's Correspondence 1769, and first volume of the Murshidabad Consultations 1770, represent the Archdeacon's work in connection with Government. For the Asiatic Society of Bengal he edited the Malda Factory Records 1680-82, for Messrs. Cambray the Archdeacon edited as a work of love a three-volume edition of the Fifth Report of 1812, and for Messrs. Thacker, Spink he wrote Thacker's *Guide to Calcutta* (1905) and edited the third and concluding volume of Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*. The Archdeacon, we understand, will not be able to undertake literary work of this kind in the future, but he hopes to be able to perform his duties as a member of the Indian Historical Records Commission. We are happy to be able to announce that Mr. T. O. D. Dunn of the Indian Educational Service has most kindly undertaken to accept the editorship of *Bengal Past and Present*, and all contributions should in future be sent direct to his address—the United Service Club, Chowringhee, Calcutta.

30th June, 1919.

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S. C. SANIAL,

Honorary Secretary.



N.C.



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